

MICHIGAN.

Salem F. Kennedy, Lakeview.

OHIO.

Adam E. Schaffer, Wapakoneta.

PENNSYLVANIA.

John A. Hughes, Lyndora.

C. C. Roseborough, Alexandria.

Willard H. Weigel, Elizabeth.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, September 24, 1914.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, infinite in all Thine attributes, we realize our limitations, our frailties, our dependence upon Thee, and pray for Thy protection, care, and guidance, that amid the shifting scenes, perplexing problems which confront us through the advancing civilization, we may lean with greater faith and confidence upon Thee and yield to the persuasive call from within, come up higher and yet higher into the realms of purity, for it is writ that the kingdom of God is "as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear; after that, the full corn in the ear," so may we trust, so may we strive, so may we advance to larger life and liberty under the spiritual leadership of the Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had agreed to the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 1930) granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. a right of way through the Fort Wingate Military Reservation, N. Mex., and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendment, bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House of Representatives was requested:

H. R. 18732. An act to amend section 98 of an act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment joint resolutions of the following titles:

H. J. Res. 339. Joint resolution to correct an error in H. R. 12914;

H. J. Res. 342. Joint resolution to correct an error in H. R. 12914; and

H. J. Res. 335. Joint resolution to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war," approved July 21, 1914.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

A message, in writing, from the President of the United States, was communicated to the House of Representatives by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that the President had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the following titles:

On August 27, 1914:

H. R. 14155. An act to amend an act of Congress approved March 28, 1900 (31 Stats. L., p. 52), entitled "An act granting to the State of Kansas the abandoned Fort Hays Military Reservation, in said State, for the purpose of establishing an experiment station of the Kansas State Agricultural College, and a western branch of the State Normal School thereon, and for a public park.

On August 29, 1914:

H. R. 11740. An act to amend an act entitled "An act creating a legislative assembly in the Territory of Alaska and conferring legislative power thereon, and for other purposes," approved August 24, 1912.

On September 2, 1914:

H. J. Res. 246. Joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of War to grant a revocable license for the use of lands adjoining the national cemetery near Nashville, Tenn., for public-road purposes; and

H. J. Res. 327. Joint resolution to correct error in H. R. 12045. On September 5, 1914:

H. R. 1657. An act providing for second homestead and desert-land entries.

On September 9, 1914:

H. J. Res. 330. Joint resolution to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war," approved April 24, 1914;

H. R. 2167. An act to fix the time for holding the term of the district court in the Jonesboro division of the eastern district of Arkansas; and

H. R. 17442. An act to amend section 103 of the act entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary," approved March 3, 1911, as amended by the acts of Congress approved March 3, 1913, and June 6, 1914.

On September 11, 1914:

H. J. Res. 334. Joint resolution to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war," approved July 21, 1914; and

H. J. Res. 337. Joint resolution to provide for representation of foreign Governments growing out of existing hostilities in Europe and elsewhere, and for other purposes.

On September 19, 1914:

H. J. Res. 311. Joint resolution instructing American delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture to present to the permanent committee for action at the general assembly in 1915 certain resolutions.

On September 23, 1914:

H. R. 9318. An act to amend the act approved June 25, 1910, entitled "An act to establish postal savings depositories for depositing savings at interest with the security of the Government for repayment thereof, and for other purposes"; and

S. J. Res. 166. Joint resolution authorizing the President to designate two officers connected with the Public Health Service to represent the United States at the Sixth International Sanitary Conference of American States, to be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, in December, 1914, and making an appropriation to pay the expenses of said representatives, and for other purposes.

On September 24, 1914:

H. R. 6433. An act to relocate the headquarters of the customs district of Florida.

EMERGENCY REVENUE LEGISLATION.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I submit a privileged report from the Committee on Rules.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 629 (H. Rept. 1164).

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to the consideration of H. R. 18891. "A bill to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes"; that said bill shall be considered in the House as in the Committee of the Whole, and the same shall be the continuing order of the House until disposed of; that there shall be not exceeding seven hours of general debate, to be equally divided between those supporting and those opposing the bill, one-half of such time to be controlled by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] and one-half by the gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE]. At the conclusion of such general debate the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit: *Provided*, That the following amendment shall be considered as offered and agreed to, to wit:

First. Line 12, page 3, after the word "gasoline," insert the words "motor spirits."

Second. Lines 12 and 13, strike out the word "similar."

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentlemen across the aisle whether they wish to debate the rule?

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, we would like to debate the rule on this side.

Mr. HENRY. How much time does the gentleman think his side would desire?

Mr. CAMPBELL. We should like to have two hours if we can get it.

Mr. HENRY. It seems to me as if that would be a little extravagant.

Mr. MANN. Tell us what you are going to do to us and do not bother us in this way.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I would be glad to have a suggestion from the gentleman.

Mr. HENRY. I assume the rule will be adopted. I have no objection to 1 hour's time, and would yield the gentleman 30 minutes of that time if that is satisfactory.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas offers to yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Small favors are thankfully received.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I do not know how my remarks could make the rule any plainer. It seems to me it is perfectly plain. It has been carefully drawn, and I think most everybody understands the object of the proceedings. Mr. Speaker, this is the first time I find myself at a loss for anything to say by way of elucidation, because everything has been said in the rule. Therefore I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT]. [Applause.]

Mr. HENRY. If the gentleman will pardon me for just a moment, I desire to ask that the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] control my time during my absence.

Mr. CAMPBELL. All right.

Mr. LENROOT. Mr. Speaker, there is about to be written another chapter in the history of Democratic achievements. Its title will be "The hypocrisy and incompetency of the Democratic Party." [Applause on the Republican side.] It will tell the story of the passage of an indefensible rule for the purpose of passing an indefensible bill increasing the taxes to the American people by \$105,000,000. The rule absolutely prohibits the offering of all amendments and limits debate to seven hours. Mr. Speaker, since the Democrats came into power in this House I have repeatedly called attention to the fact that they supported and indorsed the very system which they unanimously condemned when they were in the minority, and their opposition to that system contributed more than any other one thing to their Democratic majority. When the Republicans were in power a small group upon this side of the aisle fought rules of this character, the only distinction being that those rules were far less drastic than the rule the Democrats propose to-day. Then the small group on this side of the aisle had the support of every Democrat in the House. I can see no difference, Mr. Speaker, between a gag rule under what was called "Cannonism" and a gag rule under "Underwoodism." I was against such rules then; I am against such rules now. You were against such rules then; you are for them now. [Applause on the Republican side.]

And there is this, Mr. Speaker, to be said in favor of those Republicans who supported those rules then. They were not hypocrites. They defended them as best they could, and they finally went down to defeat in honorable surrender, and that issue is now settled in the Republican Party. [Applause on the Republican side.] I contributed my mite to the overthrow of what was known as "Cannonism," and I have no regrets. But, Mr. Speaker, I have a great deal more respect for Ex-Speaker Cannon and for Republicans who fought with him than I have for any man to-day on the Democratic side who was a Member of the Sixty-first Congress and will vote for this rule. [Applause on the Republican side.] There will, however, Mr. Speaker, be one honorable exception when the roll is called, and that will be the Speaker of this House himself [applause], for you, sir, have recently publicly announced that you will never vote for rules of this character. I congratulate you upon the fact that you will vote against this rule. And when this roll is called, Mr. Speaker, Democrats on that side of the aisle will determine whether they will follow the leadership of CHAMP CLARK, to keep the promises of the Democratic Party, or follow the leadership of OSCAR UNDERWOOD on this rule. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, I would have more respect for the Democratic majority if they would openly and aboveboard say that they are in favor of the things now that they were opposed to four years ago. But they are deliberately and willfully trying to deceive the American people. I hold in my hand a pamphlet gotten out by the Democratic congressional committee, entitled "A Record of Achievement," and upon the first page of this pamphlet there are given certain quotations from the speeches of President Wilson. I shall read just one or two lines from them. They quote first from his speech of acceptance, wherein he says:

I could not have accepted a nomination which left me bound to any man or any group of men.

Who is there on your side of the aisle to-day who can say he is not bound to any man or group of men? [Applause on the Republican side.]

He says further:

No man can be just who is not free.

Who is there on your side of the aisle who is free to-day? [Applause on the Republican side.]

A little further on in this document I find this language, under the heading "Change of House rules":

Keeping its pledges in the campaign of 1910, the Democratic House has so revised its rules that the czarism which characterized the control of the House under Republican rule is a thing of the past.

[Laughter.]

Czarism a thing of the past, and you solidly voting for this gag rule! [Applause on the Republican side.]

One more quotation, Mr. Speaker. I wish I had further time to give more of them. Under the head of "Closer relations with Congress" I find this:

By his action in appearing at the Capitol and addressing Congress in person on the state of the Union and its needs, the President gave emphasis to his belief in a return to government by public discussion.

What discussion are you giving us here?

I quote further:

He put an end to government by secret conferences and private arrangement.

[Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, the American people are intelligent, and they are going to judge your action here, not by what this campaign booklet says, but they will form their judgment by the vote that you are to cast within an hour, more than by any other one thing that you will do.

Mr. Speaker, I have spoken strongly and earnestly upon this question, but I have not spoken as a partisan. [Laughter on the Democratic side.] Since I have been a Member of this House no man on either side of this aisle has ever accused me of partisanship. I have supported your President and my President. Upon all matters of foreign policy we have supported him as loyally as you have, even though questioning the wisdom of some of his policies, believing that upon such matters it was more important that he have a united country behind him than any close scrutiny of the particular wisdom of a particular policy. I have supported bills coming from your side time and time again, and in committee and upon the floor I have done what I could to help to perfect them, knowing that the Democratic Party would take the entire credit for them. I am occupying the same position upon this floor to-day, Mr. Speaker, that I occupied when the Republicans were in power. And so I say, and I have a right to say, that I am not speaking from a partisan standpoint, and if I were a Member upon the Democratic side of the aisle to-day—and I am thankful I am not—instead of being on the Republican side, I would make exactly the same kind of a speech that I have made.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin yields back one minute.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the President of the United States in the performance of a solemn duty imposed upon him by the Constitution of the country, appearing personally before the Congress, addressed it upon the state of the Union. In that address he informed the Congress that owing to conditions with which we are all more or less familiar it was deemed necessary that provisions should be made for the raising of \$100,000,000 of revenue. The bill under which the country has been operating for the last several months from the revenue standpoint has been a satisfactory bill, but a condition arose in Europe for which no one here was responsible, which caused a practical cessation of imports from the great productive areas of that Continent from which we have been accustomed to draw the major portion of our customs duties.

I take it, sir, that before the message of the President all thoughtful men here and elsewhere in the country realized that the time would come, on account of the chaotic conditions produced there, when it would be necessary to increase the revenues here. There were differences of opinion as to how it should be done; there were differences of opinion as to when it should be done; but after the President of the United States, acting upon his responsibility and performing a duty laid upon him by the Constitution, had advised this body of the state of the Union, I think there came a unanimity of sentiment. But, sir, what did we find? Immediately following that address we received notice—it became a matter of common knowledge—that the members of the minority party in this body and in the other coordinate legislative branch, did not intend to arise to the performance of a patriotic duty, but intended to embarrass every movement in order that they might play petty partisan politics. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The Democratic caucus met, suggested to the members of the Ways and Means Committee, charged with the duty of reporting the revenue bill, certain lines of procedure, leaving them to work out the details. That action was followed, and the bill has been presented. The minority report has been filed, and that minority report declares that no bill is necessary, and that no suggestion of a bill, whatever it may be, will receive support on the minority side. [Applause on the Republican side.] That, sirs, being the case, they declining to participate in these activities except in the line of opposition and of obstruction, the majority party, having the responsibility, must meet it independently of the action of the other side, and we have taken here the plain, simple way of performing that duty.

These gentlemen on the minority side do not wish to amend the bill. According to their minority report, let them write it, and even then they would not vote for it. What, then, is the duty of the responsible party now? The duty is to act quickly and speedily in this emergency; to take the action that has been determined to be necessary.

We have had notice given—it is a matter of common knowledge—that in another body the minority intends to obstruct this bill in every way possible. If it is to become a matter of physical exhaustion, if legislation is to be settled not upon intellectual lines but upon the question of who can stand longer physically, then we had better pass this bill quickly in order that the physical grind may begin. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

This bill has been carefully thought out by the committee charged with that responsibility. It will perhaps not be a popular bill.

Mr. BUTLER. No. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. No tax is popular. Every man says, "Tax the other man." But it has been worked out thoughtfully and carefully along well-approved lines, following in the main a beaten path. Whatever we might do, whatever concessions might be made to the minority, it has given us official notice that it will not support us, but that it will stand as an obstructor to all this legislation; and for that reason, because of that official notice, because of the fact that even if permitted to amend they would still oppose it, I submit, sir, that we are justified in taking the plain, simple, direct course, exercising that responsibility which rests upon us as the party responsible for the running of this Government. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I yield back the remainder of my time, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Tennessee yields back one minute.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] use more of his time now?

Mr. HARDWICK. Has the gentleman any more speeches on that side?

Mr. CAMPBELL. One.

Mr. HARDWICK. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRELL].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRELL] is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. CANTRELL. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman—

Mr. CAMPBELL. I beg the gentleman's pardon. Did the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. HARDWICK] understand that there would be only one speech on this side?

Mr. HARDWICK. Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I understood the gentleman from Georgia to say that there would be only one speech on that side.

Mr. HARDWICK. The gentleman had better proceed, then.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, another tariff for revenue only has failed to produce enough revenue to meet the extravagant expenditures of a Democratic Congress. [Applause on the Republican side.]

On other occasions, when a Democratic tariff for revenue only has failed to produce enough to meet Democratic demands for appropriations, you have sold bonds or offered them for sale to meet the deficiency. On this occasion you have changed your policy and propose to tax the people directly to make up the deficit.

The President in his address on the 4th day of this month from this rostrum gave as an excuse for his request upon Congress for this additional tax upon the people that our revenues had fallen off in the month of August, making an additional tax upon the people necessary. The President referred only to the falling off in our revenues for the month of August of this year, after the war in Europe began. If he had been disposed to give Congress and the country all the information he had in his possession he could have stated that under the tariff bill

passed by this Congress on the 3d day of October last the revenues had been constantly falling off. [Applause on the Republican side.] For the month of January, 1914, the failure of revenue amounted to \$5,806,044.26. For the month of February the falling off in revenue amounted to \$9,995,512.13, almost as much as in the month of August, to which the President pointed with so much alarm from this rostrum a few days ago. There has been a falling off in the revenues of the Government from customs sources every month since January up to the present time. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The war in Europe is a feeble excuse for the decline in our revenues, even when offered by the President of the United States. The failure in our revenues from customs sources was inevitable. The President says that our imports have decreased. On the contrary, our imports have increased, but our revenues have decreased. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The President says that the Treasury could get along with the money that it has if it were not for the fact that the administration has deposited \$75,000,000 in certain national banks in certain portions of the country. This money is subject to the call of the Treasurer of the United States. Let me read from the President's message of September 4:

Approximately \$75,000,000, a large part of the present Treasury balance, is now on deposit with national banks distributed throughout the country. It is deposited, of course, on call. I need not point out to you what the probable consequences of inconvenience and distress and confusion would be if the diminishing income of the Treasury should make it necessary rapidly to withdraw these deposits.

When, I ask in the name of the American people, did it become the policy of this Government to impose burdensome direct taxes upon the people to enable an administration to deposit large sums of money in certain national banks in certain sections of the country? [Applause on the Republican side.] A free people will willingly bear the burden of taxation when necessary to sustain their government in a defensive war, but it is an insult to the intelligence of the American people to assume that they will willingly pay taxes to enable any administration to deposit money out of the Treasury of the United States in national banks in any portion of our country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The people of the country have been told that this is a war tax. But we are at peace with all the world. Our country is not at war. You proclaim to the world that you have won victories by "watchful waiting" and are at peace with all mankind. [Applause on the Democratic side.] In the face of that fact, how can you justify a war tax upon the American people? [Applause on the Republican side.]

Do you expect to fool the people? Do you think that they can be deceived by the mere pretense that this is a war tax, when we are at peace with all the world? Ah, no; the poor who in the hour of their necessities are compelled to make notes and mortgages, upon which you propose a stamp tax, will not be deceived. Every one of them will know that they are taxed to supply the Treasury, as the President requests in his message, for money to enable the administration to maintain large deposits in national banks. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Can you Populistic Democrats go before your constituents in defense of that sort of taxation? You were elected to Congress because you said you would reduce the burdens of the people. You to-day propose, before two years have passed, to increase their burdens; and for what? The cost of living is as high or higher than ever. Your appropriations are more extravagant and profligate than those of any Congress in our history. [Applause on the Republican side.] And yet you complain because there is opposition to your bill, and that is made the excuse for bringing in a gag rule, the iniquity of which has never been equaled in any Congress. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] says the rule is made necessary because it has been announced that the Republicans will oppose this bill. When did it become necessary in the American Congress to prepare and pass gag rules because it was announced that an administration measure like this could not have the unanimous support of the Congress? [Applause on the Republican side.]

When the Underwood bill was under consideration, you boasted that every item was open to amendment and debate. You propose to pass this bill in the House as in the Committee of the Whole, without an opportunity to offer an amendment to a single item or to vote upon any item in the bill. What is your defense? The necessity for raising money by burdensome taxes upon the people to enable the Treasury to deposit money in the national banks? Oh, you Democrats, when was Congress empowered to use the taxing power for such a purpose? Yet that is the excuse upon which the President largely rested his case.

Mr. Speaker, the fact is that you are driven to this action because of the failure of your new freedom; the failure of your new constitution of peace; the failure of your tariff for revenue to supply the Treasury with sufficient money to meet your extravagant expenditures; the failure of your policies to revive a widespread depression that exists all over the country; the failure of the balance of trade in our favor in our commerce with the world, making it necessary to export the gold of the country to pay our trade balances to the largest extent since you were in power before; in short, the failure of the administration to successfully manage the affairs of the Nation. These are the conditions that have made the deficit in the Treasury. These are the conditions that make it necessary for the administration to bring in this measure for a burdensome tax under this gag rule. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. Speaker, how much time have I remaining?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has 10 minutes remaining.

Mr. HENRY. How much time have I left?

The SPEAKER. Twenty minutes.

Mr. HENRY. I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL].

Mr. CANTRILL. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] has made a statement which I can not permit to go unchallenged when he charges that the Democratic Party in this Congress is pursuing the same tactics that were pursued by the Republican Party under the leadership of Speaker Cannon.

Mr. AINEY. Worse.

Mr. CANTRILL. As a matter of fact, there is a very radical difference in the procedure of this House under Democratic rule, and no one knows it better than the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin. Under Republican rule the Speaker of this House appointed every committee. Each Member upon this floor was a pawn in the hands of the Speaker, to be placed where the Speaker desired to place him for his own selfish interests and for the selfish interests of his party. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Under Democratic control the membership of this House selects its committees. The Speaker of this House does not designate a single Member to a committee place in the House, and under the rules the Speaker under Democratic administration is not permitted to have membership upon the Committee on Rules. Under the Republican system the Speaker of this House was the Czar who absolutely controlled legislation in this House. If any man placed upon a committee did not serve the Speaker's will, he was removed by the Speaker from that committee, and every man knew that in his service on committees he had to bow to the will of the Speaker or lose his committee assignment. But as it stands to-day, as nearly as it is possible to make it, the legislation of this House is in the control of the membership of this House. Aye, more than that, Mr. Speaker, under Republican administration the Speaker of this House appointed the minority membership on the committees. When the Republican Party was in control the Republican Speaker designated every Democrat to serve upon committees. Under Democratic administration the gentlemen upon that side of the aisle in their own caucus select their own committeemen and the Democratic Party in control of this House assign your Members to the committees as you gentlemen of the minority select them.

I want to submit to the membership of this House and to the country that under the control of the Democratic Party to-day, under the rules which are in operation, this House controls the legislation and the Speaker of the House does not control it, as under Republican rule. You gentlemen remember well how it used to be. No individual Member upon the floor of this House could secure recognition from the Speaker unless he first went to the Speaker's room and humbly fell upon his knees and secured the permission of the Speaker in order that, as a Member of this House, he might exercise his constitutional right to stand here in his place and address the membership of this House; and I appeal to you gentlemen on that side, in the spirit of fairness, is there a single one of you on that side of the House who will rise in his place and say that under Democratic administration Speaker Clark has not conceded to every Member upon that side as well as upon this side every right and privilege to which he was entitled? [Applause.] More than that, you gentlemen upon that side have publicly conceded that he gave you every right to which you were entitled. The statement of the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT] can not go unchallenged that the Democratic party is pursuing the same gag rule that was in operation when the Republicans were in control of this Congress. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLY]. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I feel sure that the statements made by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL] will not in any way deceive the people of this country when they realize that there is such a thing as making a promise and then violating it by refusing its substance. This is a gag rule, with all the powers of the most vicious gag rule. It has been brought out from the Committee on Rules, and to my mind the most important thing to be considered at this time is the fact that the Rules Committee has such absolute power that it can take this bill, without previous consideration even by a caucus, and force its immediate consideration without right of amendment. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL] states that the committees are under the control of the House at the present time, and that they were not under the control of the House under Speaker Cannon. The House has absolutely no power over the Rules Committee; it has no power over any committee of this House. There is a shadow rule which provides for a motion to discharge committees. Not one single motion has ever been brought before this House in the Sixty-third Congress to discharge a committee. Motion No. 1 on the calendar, put there on the 1st day of December, the very first day that a motion of that kind could be presented, is still on the calendar, and has never been reached. Not once in the long and strenuous sessions of this Sixty-third Congress has that order of business been reached, and it will not be reached; it was never intended to be reached. By a shadow reform this rule was put in the rules, but it is absolutely useless.

In practice no committee can be discharged from consideration of any bill, however meritorious; it could scarcely be done under this rule, even if such order was reached, which is impossible. Aside from this shadow reform, the Rules Committee can not be reached even under this procedure, and it has a right to report at any time a gag rule of this kind, but the House can not compel it to act. I believe, with the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LENROOT], who gave us such splendid exposition of this system in operation, that no lover of a square deal can possibly vote for the rule under consideration. It is a rule that shuts off any right of amendment, gives no chance whatever for the real expression of the House. I feel that if the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CANTRILL] really wants to make a reform in the system, if he really wants to make a change from Cannonism, there should be some provision whereby the House of Representatives would have control over its committees, which it does not have at the present time.

Here is a bill which proposes to levy \$1 additional tax upon every man, woman, and child in the Nation. It proposes to add \$5 to every family of the 20,000,000 families of this Nation. It is based upon the theory of protection—that the people of the country should pay for expenses of the Government in return for governmental protection. Why not give them the protection for which they are already paying? Since the war has broken out in Europe prices have advanced on the necessities of life in this country from 10 to 25 per cent. This morning I called on the Department of Commerce and got the actual figures on 15 articles of food used by the average workingman and the average family of this Nation. The average increase from the 15th day of July to the 15th day of August was 20 per cent on those 15 articles in New York City, and other cities show the same condition. Twenty per cent advance in the cost of living in one month's time means tragedy for the average American. The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows the average family spends \$326.90 a year for food; and add 20 per cent to that and you have what each of these 20,000,000 families of the Nation is paying in the nature of a war tax already. That is a matter that this Government has not yet undertaken to remedy. I want to know why this Congress does not touch that question, why it refuses to consider a question which means the welfare of every individual. If the House carried out the will of the people, it would effectively end the depredations of food pirates, even if it took possession of food supplies and distributed them to the public.

I am opposed to this rule, and I am opposed to the bill, which lays added and unnecessary burdens upon the people. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. HOBSON].

Mr. HOBSON. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to this rule for the sole reason that it prevents amendment. The temperance and prohibition forces of America are opposed to the provisions of the bill taxing intoxicating liquors. This rule prevents

any chance of striking these provisions from the bill. Therefore, for that reason, I am opposed to the rule. In general debate I will endeavor to set forth the reasons for the opposition of the prohibition and temperance forces. I yield back the balance of my time, or will yield it to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DECKER], with the consent of the gentleman controlling the time.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman can not do that. The gentleman from Alabama yields back one minute of his time.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield four minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. FESS]. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the justification for this rule was stated by the able and amiable gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT]. I take it that that is the expression of the committee, and it probably will be the expression in the vote of that side of the House. He said that they justified their position in their inconsistent action when compared with their contention in the past upon the ground that this side of the House is opposed to this measure. Certainly that is the reason they are going to cut off debate. Why should there be any cutting off of debate if there is not going to be opposition to the resolution? And you want to prevent the opposition stating their argument against this abominable measure, and you are going to gag this side of the House and prevent anybody being heard in extenso. There is no doubt about the purpose of it. That is one cause of the opposition to it. The gentleman from Tennessee places that opposition upon the basis of unpatriotic attitude on the part of this side of the House. How was it in 1898, when the armies of this Nation were arrayed against a foreign foe of this country and our troops and marines were landing in Cuba? Was it patriotism then to oppose an emergency measure? Is it unpatriotic now to oppose an unnecessary burden of \$105,000,000 upon the people of this country in time of peace, and was it patriotic to oppose the imposition of a burden at that time, in time of war? [Applause on the Republican side.] The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. GARRETT] represents a party which was then in the minority, and we brought in a bill, and at that time gave 17 hours and 5 minutes to debate, with perfect freedom to amend it. In addition, we occupied the whole of the 29th of April to read the bill under the five-minute rule, and gave you on that side an opportunity to offer amendments or a substitute. You did offer a substitute of an income tax, or rather attempted to amend by requiring an income tax to be levied, which you knew would be unconstitutional, for it had been pronounced so by the Supreme Court just shortly before that time. [Applause on the Republican side.] Now you are opposed to putting the income tax in operation because you can. Then you were in favor of putting it in operation because you knew you could not. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.] One hundred and thirty-one Democrats sat in that Congress, and 129 of them voted against a war measure that was necessary to support the armies in time of war. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Speaker, I am not charging these men with unpatriotic conduct. They include the Speaker of this House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CLARK]. He voted against the bill at that time. They include the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD], the author of this bill, who voted against the war measure at that time. They include 15 other Members who are Members of the Sixty-third Congress and sit on this floor at this time. They all opposed it, and yet you come in now, in a time of peace, so far as this country is concerned, and you are going to saddle this burden upon the people, and you charge us with unpatriotic conduct because we refuse to allow you to do it without a struggle. Mr. Speaker, as a Member of this body, composed of 434 other Members, which body ought to be the greatest legislative body in the world, representing a hundred millions of people, I protest against being denominated unpatriotic when I refuse to saddle a burden upon the people when it is absolutely unnecessary if we would but retrench in our expenditures. Whatever may be the rules of the House, for myself I prefer that it be under the leadership of the Speaker of the House, whoever he may be, to the leadership of the majority leader, whoever he may be. It is better to be ruled by the head of the whole House than by the head of a faction of that House. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. HENRY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, has the gentleman from Kansas exhausted his time?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Kansas has one minute remaining.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Speaker, I yield one minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MANN].

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, knowing that on this side of the House we are about to be gagged and bound, we still have the liberty of making a protest. Mr. Speaker, it would be unfair for me to exult as a political proposition at these funeral exercises of the Democratic Party. [Applause on the Republican side.] As I look at the doleful faces on the other side of the aisle, conscious now that they are marching to destruction, I feel sorry for them and sorry for the people that they are in power; but when I remember that shortly after the election in November the Republicans will again be in control, I congratulate the country on the relief. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, just after the Maine election, I doubt whether the gentleman is much of a prophet.

Mr. ADAMSON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HENRY. Yes.

Mr. ADAMSON. Does not the gentleman think that the gentleman from Illinois can remember a good deal better now than he will be able to after election?

Mr. HENRY. I think that is very likely. Mr. Speaker, I yield 14 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD].

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is always unfortunate for those who are responsible for the government of a great country to be compelled to levy taxes. But governments must exist for the good of the people and taxes must be levied in order that governments may exist. I do not intend at this time to discuss the necessity for the passage of this bill nor give the reasons why its immediate passage is necessary at this time, for I expect to do that when the bill comes before the House within the next hour. I merely take advantage of this opportunity to discuss the pending rule.

Gentlemen on that side of the House in their debate this morning have said that it was necessary for the Democratic Party to pass this rule. They were never more mistaken in their lives. Since the first hour the Democratic Party came into control of this House, more than three years ago, it has never been necessary for it to pass a rule to do business, because the Democratic Party stands as a militant party, representing the common masses of the American people, and always ready to unite in the case of an emergency and do their duty for the common good. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

This rule is not proposed from a matter of necessity. You have seen since the Democratic Party came into power, but not while you were in power, great tariff bills passed through this House without a rule and without cloture. It would only be a question of days whether we passed this bill under a rule or without a rule, and you know as well as I know that when you attacked this bill, if it was brought in here without a rule, that you could make no more impression on the integrity of the bill by throwing amendments against it than you did on the tariff bill and other great measures which it has been necessary for us to present to this House in the interest of the American people. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

You confess that in your report. Your report says that you do not want to offer any amendments. This talk of your being gagged is mere subterfuge. Your leaders say that they have no amendments to offer; that they merely propose to resist the passage of the measure. Is it gagging you when you have no desire to make a proposal? Here is what you say in your report?

To suggest a substitute is useless. The absurd and tyrannical rule adopted by the Democratic majority in the Sixty-second Congress, under a ruling made when the Underwood tariff bill was pending, prohibits all amendments introducing new articles for taxation. We quote the rule, page 406, Rules of the House of Representatives, Sixty-second Congress, Rule XXI, paragraph 3:

"No amendment shall be in order to any bill affecting revenue which is not germane to the subject matter in the bill; nor shall any amendment to any item of such bill be in order which does not directly relate to the item to which the amendment is proposed."

This drastic rule was extended by construction, and rendered more drastic by a parliamentary decision.

As a matter of fact, you have always carried in your own rules before the proposition that amendments to a pending bill must be germane, and necessarily so, or the Congress could never complete its labor; necessarily so, that the work of your committees may be protected and that undigested matters may not be thrown before the Congress to divert attention from meritorious bills under consideration in the House. So that you holler "gag rule" and you admit that you do not want an amendment. Why, if my distinguished colleague on the Ways and Means Committee, the leader of the minority on that committee and its former chairman, was called on to-day to offer a

substitute for the pending bill, he could not do so; aye, more, he would not do so. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You have no desire to amend this bill; you want to defeat it.

Mr. PAYNE. If the gentleman will permit me, there is one amendment I would like to offer.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. What is it?

Mr. PAYNE. I would offer an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. That is exactly what I said. The gentleman concurs with me entirely in that proposition. The only amendment he would make to the bill if opportunity is given is an amendment to defeat the bill, and if he gets votes enough he will have the opportunity to do that without amendment. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Now, as to the time for general debate fixed in this bill, I was not in the Rules Committee when the time for general debate was agreed upon.

Why, I understand that the limit of seven hours for general debate on this bill was voted for by the minority members of the committee.

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. I know the gentleman wants to be accurate.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Certainly.

Mr. LENROOT. Does the gentleman state the minority voted only for seven hours?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I understood seven hours was placed in the resolution by the votes of the minority of the committee.

Mr. LENROOT. Because that is all the minority could get; they wanted more.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Evidently the minority had the power to make it seven hours. They evidently had power to make it more if they wanted more. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. LENROOT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will.

Mr. LENROOT. By one vote, your chairman, we got the seven, and the rest of your party voted against that.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, you got what you asked for; that is what I am saying. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Now, Mr. Speaker, why is it necessary at this time, or why is it not only necessary but expedient at this time, that this rule should be adopted? The Democratic Party through the history of this Congress and the last one has been more liberal in debate and more liberal to the minority in the consideration of bills than the Republican Party ever was in the number of years I served in this Congress when they were in control, and I have stated a number of times myself, and I have heard the same sentiment voiced by my colleagues on this side of the House, that the minority were entitled to be heard and they were entitled to have a reasonable opportunity to offer their views when they were ready to transact business in a legitimate way; but I have stated many times before, and I am willing to stand for the proposition now, that when the minority in this Congress, or any other Congress, seeks by dilatory tactics, attempts by delay and filibustering methods, to prevent the passage of legislation to protect the Government of the United States, then there is no reason why the majority, those in control of the Government, those responsible to the people of the United States, should temporize with the question one moment. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

When that time has arrived it is not only right but it becomes the duty of the majority to give notice to the unwilling minority that they can not filibuster; that they can not delay measures that are necessary to protect the Government of the United States. [Applause on the Democratic side.] Some days ago, before this measure was even formulated by the majority members of the Committee on Ways and Means, before it had been acted upon by the Democratic caucus, your party in conference or caucus assembled met and resolved to lay across the path of any bill that the majority of this House should bring before the House to protect the Treasury of the United States. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And, more than that, before we had announced our views, before we had proposed this measure, a conference or a caucus of the Republican Members of another body that must act on this, if I may judge from what I read in the papers, gave notice that they proposed by dilatory methods to lay across the track of this bill to its final passage.

Mr. MANN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will.

Mr. MANN. I did not hear what the gentleman said. Did the gentleman say the Republican caucus of the House in any way gave an indication of obstruction?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I stated that the Republican caucus of the House, and I got my information from the newspapers, and

I have not seen it denied, stated that they would resist the passage of a bill to raise more revenue before they knew what the bill was or before it was formulated either by the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means or the Democratic caucus.

Mr. MANN. Well, if the gentleman will permit—

Mr. UNDERWOOD. And I understood from the papers—they may have incorrectly represented the gentleman from Illinois, but from the information I gathered from the papers the caucus of the minority took that action on the motion of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, the leader of his party. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, the Republican caucus was open so that the gentleman's misinformation is not warranted in any way whatever.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, I will be glad for the gentleman to state what his motion was if I incorrectly represented him.

Mr. MANN. I did not make any motion. Now, how the gentleman got any such information from the papers I do not know, but the Republican caucus expressed the opinion that there was no necessity at this time to increase taxation, but there was necessity for administrative economy. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. FITZGERALD. The fact is the Republicans never held a caucus and do not dare to hold a caucus.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, a conference or caucus, whatever it was, I understood from the papers they determined on the question of opposing the bill, and 80 stood up on the request of the gentleman from Illinois as against any measure of this kind.

Mr. MANN. As against any increased taxation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. HENRY. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois demands the yeas and nays. Those in favor of ordering the yeas and nays will rise and stand until they are counted. [After counting.] Evidently a sufficient number of gentlemen have risen, and the yeas and nays are ordered, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 224, nays 132, answered "present" 4, not voting 71, as follows:

YEAS—224.

Abercrombie	Decker	Heflin	Post
Adair	Dent	Helm	Pou
Adamson	Dershem	Helvering	Quin
Alken	Dickinson	Henry	Rainey
Alexander	Dies	Hill	Rauch
Ansberry	Difenderfer	Hobson	Rayburn
Ashbrook	Dixon	Holland	Reed
Aswell	Donovan	Houston	Reilly, Conn.
Bailey	Dooling	Howard	Reilly, Wis.
Baker	Doolittle	Hughes, Ga.	Riordan
Baltz	Doremus	Hull	Rouse
Barkley	Doughton	Igoe	Rubey
Barnhart	Dupré	Jacoway	Rucker
Bathrick	Eagan	Johnson, Ky.	Russell
Beakes	Eagle	Johnson, S. C.	Sabath
Beall, Tex.	Edwards	Jones	Saunders
Bell, Ga.	Estopinal	Keating	Seldomridge
Blackmon	Evans	Key, Ohio	Shackelford
Booher	Ferguson	Kitchin	Shierley
Borchers	Ferris	Korbly	Sherwood
Borland	Fields	Lazaro	Sisson
Bowdle	Fitzgerald	Lee, Ga.	Slayden
Brockson	FitzHenry	Leshner	Smith, Md.
Brodbeck	Flood, Va.	Lever	Smith, Tex.
Broussard	Floyd, Ark.	Levy	Sparkman
Bruckner	Foster	Lewis, Md.	Stanley
Brumbaugh	Fowler	Lieb	Stedman
Buchanan, Ill.	Gallagher	Linthicum	Stephens, Miss.
Buchanan, Tex.	Gallivan	Lloyd	Stephens, Nebr.
Bulkley	Gard	Lobeck	Stephens, Tex.
Burgess	Garner	Logue	Stone
Burnett	Garrett, Tenn.	Loneragan	Taggart
Byrnes, S. C.	Garrett, Tex.	McAndrews	Talcott, N. Y.
Byrns, Tenn.	Gerry	McCoy	Tavener
Callaway	Gill	McGillicuddy	Taylor, Ala.
Candler, Miss.	Gillmore	McKellar	Taylor, Ark.
Cantor	Glass	Maguire, Nebr.	Taylor, Colo.
Cantrill	Godwin, N. C.	Mahan	Taylor, N. Y.
Caraway	Goeke	Mitchell	Thomas
Carew	Goldfogle	Montague	Thompson, Okla.
Carlin	Goodwin, Ark.	Morgan, La.	Tribble
Carr	Gordon	Morrison	Underhill
Carter	Gorman	Moss, Ind.	Underwood
Casey	Goulden	Mulkey	Vaughan
Clancy	Graham, Ill.	Murray, Mass.	Vollmer
Clark, Fla.	Gray	Murray, Okla.	Walker
Claypool	Griffin	Neeley, Kans.	Watson
Cline	Gudger	O'Brien	Weaver
Coady	Hamlin	Oglesby	Webb
Collier	Hammond	O'Hair	Whaley
Connelly, Kans.	Hardwick	Oldfield	Whitacre
Cox	Hardy	Padgett	White
Crosser	Harrison	Page, N. C.	Williams
Cullop	Hart	Park	Wilson, Fla.
Dale	Hay	Peterson	Witherspoon
Davenport	Hayden	Phelan	Young, Tex.

NAYS—132.

Ainey	Frear	Langley	Rupley
Anderson	French	Lee, Pa.	Scott
Anthony	Gillett	Lenroot	Sells
Avis	Good	Lindbergh	Shreve
Barchfeld	Green, Iowa	McGuire, Okla.	Sims
Bartholdt	Greene, Mass.	McKenzie	Sinnott
Barton	Greene, Vt.	McLaughlin	Slomp
Britten	Griest	MacDonald	Sloan
Browne, Wis.	Hamilton, Mich.	Madden	Smith, Idaho
Bryan	Hamilton, N. Y.	Manahan	Smith, J. M. C.
Burke, Pa.	Haugen	Mann	Smith, Minn.
Burke, S. Dak.	Hawley	Mapes	Smith, Saml. W.
Burke, Wis.	Hayes	Miller	Stafford
Butler	Helgesen	Mondell	Steenerson
Campbell	Hinds	Morgan, Okla.	Stevens, Cal.
Cary	Hinebaugh	Morin	Stevens, Minn.
Chandler, N. Y.	Howell	Moss, W. Va.	Stevens, N. H.
Church	Hughes, W. Va.	Mott	Stout
Cooper	Hulings	Nelson	Sutherland
Copley	Humphrey, Wash.	Nolan, J. I.	Switzer
Cramton	Johnson, Utah	Norton	Temple
Curry	Johnson, Wash.	O'Shaunessy	Thomson, Ill.
Danforth	Kahn	Palce, Mass.	Townner
Davis	Keister	Patton, Pa.	Treadway
Deitrick	Kelley, Mich.	Payne	Vare
Dillon	Kelly, Pa.	Peters	Volstead
Donohoe	Kennedy, Iowa	Plumley	Wallin
Dunn	Kennedy, R. I.	Porter	Walters
Esch	Kless, Pa.	Prouty	Willis
Falconer	Kinkaid, Nebr.	Raker	Winslow
Farr	Kreider	Roberts, Mass.	Woods
Fess	La Follette	Roberts, Nev.	Young, N. Dak.
Fordney	Langham	Rogers	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—4.

Kettner	Kirkpatrick	Moon	Ragsdale
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NOT VOTING—71.

Allen	Finley	Konop	Platt
Austin	Francis	Lafferty	Powers
Bartlett	Gardner	L'Engle	Rothermel
Bell, Cal.	George	Lewis, Pa.	Scully
Brown, N. Y.	Gittins	Lindquist	Small
Brown, W. Va.	Graham, Pa.	Loft	Smith, N. Y.
Browning	Gregg	McClellan	Stringer
Calder	Guernsey	Maher	Summers
Connolly, Iowa	Hamill	Martin	Talbott, Md.
Conry	Harris	Merritt	Ten Eyck
Covington	Hensley	Metz	Thacher
Crisp	Hoxworth	Moore	Townsend
Driscoll	Humphreys, Miss.	Murdock	Tuttle
Drukker	Kennedy, Conn.	Neely, W. Va.	Walsh
Edmonds	Kent	O'Leary	Watkins
Elder	Kindel	Palmer	Wilson, N. Y.
Fairchild	Kinkaid, N. J.	Parker	Woodruff
Faison	Knowland, J. R.	Patten, N. Y.	

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:
Until further notice:

Mr. ALLEN with Mr. CALDER.

Mr. CONRY with Mr. BELL of California.

Mr. FRANCIS with Mr. FAIRCHILD.

Mr. FINLEY with Mr. DRUKKER.

Mr. SMALL with Mr. LINDQUIST.

Mr. TOWNSEND with Mr. POWERS.

Mr. WATKINS with Mr. WOODRUFF.

Mr. BROWN of New York with Mr. AUSTIN.

Mr. THACHER with Mr. SELLS.

Mr. HENSLEY with Mr. J. R. KNOWLAND.

Mr. BARTLETT with Mr. GRAHAM of Pennsylvania.

Mr. NEELY of West Virginia with Mr. PARKER.

Mr. KONOP with Mr. LEWIS of Pennsylvania.

Mr. PALMER with Mr. MARTIN.

On this vote:

Mr. GREGG (for previous question) with Mr. PLATT (against).

Mr. HARRIS (for previous question) with Mr. GUERNSEY (against).

Mr. PATTEN of New York (for previous question) with Mr. MOORE (against).

Mr. SUMMERS (for previous question) with Mr. BROWNING (against).

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland (for previous question) with Mr. MERRITT (against).

Until September 25:

Mr. KENNEDY of Connecticut with Mr. EDMONDS.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken, and the Speaker announced that the yeas seemed to have it.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for a division.

The House divided; and there were—yeas 131, noes 92.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken: and there were—yeas 202, nays 150, answered "present" 3, not voting 76, as follows:

YEAS—202.

Abercrombie	Davenport	Harrison	Park
Adair	Decker	Hart	Phelan
Adamson	Dent	Hay	Post
Alken	Dickinson	Hayden	Pou
Alexander	Dies	Heflin	Rainey
Ansberry	Dixon	Helm	Rauch
Ashbrook	Donovan	Helvering	Rayburn
Aswell	Dooling	Henry	Reed
Bailey	Doolittle	Hill	Reilly, Conn.
Baker	Doremus	Holland	Reilly, Wis.
Baltz	Doughton	Houston	Riordan
Barkley	Dupré	Howard	Rouse
Barnhart	Eagan	Hughes, Ga.	Rubey
Bathrick	Eagle	Hull	Rucker
Beakes	Edwards	Igoe	Russell
Beall, Tex.	Estopinal	Jacoway	Sabbath
Bell, Ga.	Evans	Johnson, S. C.	Seldomridge
Blackmon	Ferguson	Jones	Sherley
Boeber	Ferris	Kinkead, N. J.	Sherwood
Borchers	Fields	Kitchin	Slayden
Borland	Fitzgerald	Korby	Smith, Md.
Bowdle	FitzHenry	Lazaro	Smith, Tex.
Brockson	Flood, Va.	Lee, Ga.	Sparkman
Broddick	Floyd, Ark.	Leshner	Stanley
Broussard	Foster	Lever	Stedman
Bruckner	Gallagher	Lewis, Md.	Stephens, Nebr.
Buchanan, Ill.	Gallivan	Lieb	Stephens, Tex.
Buchanan, Tex.	Gard	Lithicum	Taggart
Bulkley	Garner	Lloyd	Taylor, Ala.
Burgess	Garrett, Tenn.	Loebck	Taylor, Ark.
Burnett	Garrett, Tex.	Loneragan	Taylor, Colo.
Byrnes, Tenn.	Gerry	McAndrews	Taylor, N. Y.
Callaway	Gill	McCoy	Thomas
Cantor	Gilmore	McClintock	Thompson, Okla.
Cantrill	Gittins	McKellar	Thribble
Caraway	Glass	Maguire, Nebr.	Tuttle
Carew	Godwin, N. C.	Mahan	Underhill
Carlin	Goeke	Mitchell	Underwood
Carr	Goldfogle	Montague	Vollmer
Carter	Goodwin, Ark.	Morgan, La.	Walker
Casby	Gordon	Morrison	Watson
Clancy	Gorman	Moss, Ind.	Weaver
Clark, Fla.	Goulden	Mulkey	Webb
Claypool	Graham, Ill.	Murray, Mass.	Whaley
Cline	Gray	Murray, Okla.	Whitacre
Coady	Griffin	O'Brien	Williams
Collier	Gudger	Oglesby	Wilson, Fla.
Cox	Hamlin	Oldfield	Witherspoon
Cullop	Hammond	Padgett	Young, Tex.
Dale	Hardwick	Pace, N. C.	

NAYS—150.

Ainey	Fowler	Langham	Rupley
Anderson	Frear	Langley	Scott
Anthony	French	Lee, Pa.	Sells
Avis	Gillett	Lenroot	Shackleford
Barchfeld	Good	Lindbergh	Shreve
Bartholdt	Green, Iowa	Logue	Sims
Barton	Greene, Mass.	McGuire, Okla.	Sinnott
Britten	Greene, Vt.	McKenzie	Slomp
Browne, Wis.	Griest	McLaughlin	Sloan
Bryan	Hamilton, Mich.	MacDonald	Smith, J. M. C.
Burke, Pa.	Hamilton, N. Y.	Madden	Smith, Minn.
Burke, S. Dak.	Haugen	Manahan	Smith, Saml. W.
Burke, Wis.	Hawley	Mann	Stafford
Butler	Hayes	Mapes	Steenerson
Campbell	Helgesen	Miller	Stevens, Cal.
Candler, Miss.	Hinds	Mondell	Stevens, Miss.
Carr	Hinebaugh	Morgan, Okla.	Stevens, N. H.
Chandler, N. Y.	Hobson	Morin	Stout
Church	Howell	Moss, W. Va.	Switzer
Connolly, Kans.	Hughes, W. Va.	Mott	Tavener
Cooper	Hulings	Nealey, Kans.	Temple
Copley	Humphrey, Wash.	Nelson	Thomson, Ill.
Cramton	Johnson, Ky.	Nolan, J. I.	Townner
Crosser	Johnson, Utah	Norton	Treadway
Curry	Johnson, Wash.	O'Shaunessy	Vare
Danforth	Kahn	Palce, Mass.	Volstead
Davis	Keating	Patton, Pa.	Wallin
Deitrick	Keister	Payne	Walters
Dershem	Kelley, Mich.	Peters	White
Dillon	Kelly, Pa.	Plumley	Willis
Donohoe	Kennedy, Iowa	Porter	Winslow
Drukker	Kennedy, R. I.	Prouty	Woods
Dunn	Kless, Pa.	Quin	Young, N. Dak.
Esch	Kinkaid, Nebr.	Ragsdale	
Falconer	Kirkpatrick	Raker	
Farr	Kreider	Roberts, Mass.	
Fess	Lafferty	Roberts, Nev.	
Fordney	La Follette	Rogers	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3.

Conry	Difenderfer	Moon
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NOT VOTING—76.

Allen	Crisp	Gregg	Kindel
Austin	Driscoll	Guernsey	Knowland, J. R.
Bartlett	Edmonds	Hamill	Konop
Bell, Cal.	Elder	Harris	L'Engle
Brown, N. Y.	Fairchild	Hensley	Levy
Brown, W. Va.	Faison	Hoxworth	Lewis, Pa.
Browning	Finley	Humphreys, Miss.	Lindquist
Brumbaugh	Francis	Kennedy, Conn.	Loft
Calder	Gardner	Kent	McClellan
Connolly, Iowa	George	Kettner	Maher
Covington	Graham, Pa.	Key, Ohio	Martin

Merritt	Patten, N. Y.	Smith, Idaho	Ten Eyck
Metz	Peterson	Smith, N. Y.	Thacher
Moore	Platt	Stevens, Minn.	Townsend
Murdock	Powers	Stringer	Vaughan
Neely, W. Va.	Rothermel	Summers	Walsh
O'Leary	Saunders	Sutherland	Watkins
Palmer	Scully	Talbott, Md.	Wilson, N. Y.
Parker	Small	Talcott, N. Y.	Woodruff

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On the vote:

Mr. GREGG (for rule) with Mr. PLATT (against rule).

Mr. PATTEN of New York (for rule) with Mr. MOORE (against rule).

Mr. SUMNERS (for rule) with Mr. BROWNING (against rule).

Mr. TALBOTT of Maryland (for rule) with Mr. MERRITT (against rule).

Mr. HARRIS (for rule) with Mr. GUERNSEY (against rule).

Until further notice:

Mr. BROWN of West Virginia with Mr. SMITH of Idaho.

Mr. CONNOLLY of Iowa with Mr. SUTHERLAND.

Mr. HAMILL with Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The resolution is agreed to, and the Clerk will report the bill.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

A bill (H. R. 18891) to increase the internal revenue, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be levied, collected, and paid in lieu of the tax of \$1 now imposed by law, a tax of \$1.50 on all beer, lager beer, ale, porter, and other similar fermented liquors, brewed or manufactured and sold, or stored in warehouse, or removed for consumption or sale, within the United States, by whatever name such liquors may be called, for every barrel containing not more than 31 gallons; and at a like rate for any other quantity or for the fractional parts of a barrel authorized and defined by law. And section 3339 of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended accordingly: *Provided*, That the additional tax imposed in this section on all fermented liquors stored in warehouse to which a stamp has been affixed shall be assessed and collected in the manner now provided by law for the collection of taxes not paid by stamp: *Provided further*, That until appropriate stamps are prepared and furnished, the stamps heretofore used to denote the payment of the internal-revenue tax on fermented liquor may be stamped or imprinted with a suitable device to denote the new rate of tax herein imposed, and shall be affixed to all packages containing such liquors on which the tax imposed by this act is paid. Any person having possession of unaffixed stamps heretofore issued for the payment of the tax on fermented liquors shall present the same to the collector of the district, who shall receive them at the price paid for such stamps by the purchaser and issue in lieu thereof new or imprinted stamps at the rate provided in this act.

Sec. 2. That upon all wines which shall hereafter be manufactured and sold, or removed for consumption and sale, there shall be levied, collected, and paid by the person so manufacturing such wines the following taxes on each and every wine gallon of wine so manufactured and sold, or so removed for consumption and sale during the preceding month: On domestic sweet wines, containing more than 3 per cent of saccharine matter, 20 cents per gallon; and on other domestic wines, including dry wines, 12 cents per gallon; and the tax ascertained to be so due shall be assessed and collected as other internal-revenue taxes are assessed and collected: *Provided*, That wines sold or delivered by the producer thereof to persons or companies engaged in the business of blending, perfecting, or recasking such wines for sale shall be subject to the tax herein imposed upon their removal for consumption or sale by the person or companies so blending, perfecting, or recasking such wines, and shall be paid by and included in the returns made by all such persons and companies.

Sec. 3. That upon gasoline, motor spirits, naphtha, and other products, obtained from crude, partially refined, or residuum oils, and suitable for motor power, there shall be levied and collected, and paid monthly by the producer thereof, a tax of 2 cents on each and every wine gallon so produced during the preceding month; and the tax ascertained to be so due shall be assessed and collected as other internal-revenue taxes are assessed and collected.

SPECIAL TAXES.

Sec. 4. That from and after November 1, 1914, special taxes shall be, and hereby are, imposed annually as follows, that is to say:

First. Bankers shall pay \$2 for each \$1,000 of capital used or employed, and in estimating capital surplus and undivided profits shall be included. The amount of such annual tax shall in all cases be computed on the basis of the capital, surplus, and undivided profits for the preceding fiscal year. Every person, firm, or company, and every incorporated or other bank, having a place of business where credits are opened by the deposit or collection of money or currency, subject to be paid or remitted upon draft, check, or order, or where money is advanced or loaned on stocks, bonds, bullion, bills of exchange, or promissory notes, or where stocks, bonds, bullion, bills of exchange, or promissory notes are received for discount or sale, shall be a banker under this act: *Provided*, That any savings bank having no capital stock, and whose business is confined to receiving deposits and loaning or investing the same for the benefit of its depositors, and which does no other business of banking, shall not be subject to this tax.

Second. Brokers shall pay \$50. Every person, firm, or company, whose business it is to negotiate purchases or sales of stocks, bonds, exchange, bullion, coined money, bank notes, promissory notes, or other securities, for themselves or others, shall be regarded as a broker: *Provided*, That any person having paid the special tax as a banker shall not be required to pay the special tax as a broker.

Third. Pawnbrokers shall pay \$20. Every person, firm, or company whose business or occupation it is to take or receive, by way of pledge, pawn, or exchange, any goods, wares, or merchandise, or any kind of personal property whatever, as security for the repayment of money loaned thereon, shall be deemed a pawnbroker.

Fourth. Commercial brokers shall pay \$20. Every person, firm, or company whose business it is as a broker to negotiate sales or purchases of goods, wares, produce, or merchandise, or to negotiate freights and other business for the owners of vessels, or for the shippers or consignors or consignees of freight carried by vessels, shall be regarded as a commercial broker under this act.

Fifth. Customhouse brokers shall pay \$10. Every person, firm, or company whose occupation it is, as the agent of others, to arrange entries and other customhouse papers, or transact business at any port of entry relating to the importation or exportation of goods, wares, or merchandise, shall be regarded as a customhouse broker.

Sixth. Proprietors of theaters, museums, and concert halls in cities having more than 15,000 population, as shown by the last preceding United States census, shall pay \$100. Every edifice used for the purpose of dramatic or operatic or other representations, plays, or performances, for admission to which entrance money is received, not including halls rented or used occasionally for concerts or theatrical representations, shall be regarded as a theater: *Provided*, That whenever any such edifice is under lease at the passage of this act the tax shall be paid by the lessee, unless otherwise stipulated between the parties to said lease.

Seventh. The proprietor or proprietors of circuses shall pay \$100. Every building, space, tent, or area where feats of horsemanship or acrobatic sports or theatrical performances not otherwise provided for in this act are exhibited shall be regarded as a circus: *Provided*, That no special tax paid in one State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall exempt exhibitions from the tax in another State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, and but one special tax shall be imposed for exhibitions within any one State, Territory, or District.

Eighth. Proprietors or agents of all other public exhibitions or shows for money not enumerated in this section shall pay \$10: *Provided*, That a special tax paid in one State, Territory, or the District of Columbia shall not exempt exhibitions from the tax in another State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, and but one special tax shall be required for exhibitions within any one State, Territory, or the District of Columbia.

Ninth. Proprietors of bowling alleys and billiard rooms shall pay \$5 for each alley or table. Every building or place where bowls are thrown or where games of billiards or pool are played, and that are open to the public with or without price, shall be regarded as a bowling alley or a billiard room, respectively.

TOBACCO DEALERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

SEC. 5. That from and after November 1, 1914, special taxes on tobacco dealers and manufacturers shall be and hereby are imposed annually as follows, the amount of such annual taxes to be computed in all cases on the basis of the annual sales for the preceding fiscal year:

Dealers in leaf tobacco whose annual sales do not exceed 50,000 pounds shall each pay \$6. Dealers in leaf tobacco whose annual sales exceed 50,000 pounds and do not exceed 100,000 pounds shall pay \$12, and if their annual sales exceed 100,000 pounds shall pay \$24: *Provided*, That dealers in leaf tobacco whose annual sales do not exceed 1,000 pounds shall be exempt from the tax herein imposed on dealers in leaf tobacco.

Dealers in tobacco, not specially provided for in this section, shall each pay \$4.80.

Every person whose business it is to sell, or offer for sale, manufactured tobacco, snuff, cigars, or cigarettes shall be regarded as a dealer in tobacco: *Provided*, That no manufacturer of tobacco, snuff, cigars, or cigarettes shall be required to pay a special tax as a dealer in manufactured tobacco, snuff, cigars, or cigarettes for selling his own products at the place of manufacture.

Manufacturers of tobacco whose annual sales do not exceed 50,000 pounds shall each pay \$6.

Manufacturers of tobacco whose annual sales exceed 50,000 pounds and do not exceed 100,000 pounds shall each pay \$12.

Manufacturers of tobacco whose annual sales exceed 100,000 pounds shall each pay \$24.

Manufacturers of cigars whose annual sales do not exceed 100,000 cigars shall each pay \$6.

Manufacturers of cigars whose annual sales exceed 100,000 and do not exceed 200,000 cigars shall each pay \$12.

Manufacturers of cigars whose annual sales exceed 200,000 cigars shall each pay \$24.

Manufacturers of cigarettes shall each pay \$24.

And every person who carries on any business or occupation for which special taxes are imposed by this act, without having paid the special tax herein provided, shall, besides being liable to the payment of such special tax, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not more than \$500, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

ADHESIVE STAMPS.

Sec. 6. That on and after the 1st day of November, 1914, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, for and in respect of the several bonds, debentures, or certificates of stock and of indebtedness, and other documents, instruments, matters, and things mentioned and described in Schedule A of this act, or for or in respect of the vellum, parchment, or paper upon which such instruments, matters, or things, or any of them, shall be written or printed by any person or persons or party who shall make, sign, or issue the same, or for whose use or benefit the same shall be made, signed, or issued, the several taxes or sums of money set down in figures against the same, respectively, or otherwise specified or set forth in the said schedule.

Sec. 7. That if any person or persons shall make, sign, or issue, or cause to be made, signed, or issued, any instrument, document, or paper of any kind or description whatsoever, without the same being duly stamped for denoting the tax hereby imposed thereon, or without having thereupon an adhesive stamp to denote said tax, such person or persons shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not more than \$100, at the discretion of the court, and such instrument, document, or paper, as aforesaid, shall not be competent evidence in any court.

Sec. 8. That if any person shall forge or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be forged or counterfeited, any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, or any part of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, which shall have been provided, or may hereafter be provided, made, or used in pursuance of this act, or shall forge, counterfeit, or resemble, or cause or procure to be forged, counterfeited, or resembled, the impression, or any part of the impression, of any such stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, as aforesaid, upon any vellum, parchment, or paper, or shall stamp or mark, or cause or procure to be stamped or marked, any vellum, parchment, or paper with any such forged or coun-

terfeited stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, or part of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, as aforesaid, with intent to defraud the United States of any of the taxes hereby imposed, or any part thereof; or if any person shall utter, or sell, or expose for sale, any vellum, parchment, paper, article, or thing having thereupon the impression of any such counterfeit stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, or any part of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, or any such forged, counterfeited, or resembled impression, or part of impression, as aforesaid, knowing the same to be forged, counterfeited, or resembled; or if any person shall knowingly use or permit the use of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, which shall have been so provided, made, or used as aforesaid, with intent to defraud the United States; or if any person shall fraudulently cut, tear, or remove, or cause or procure to be cut, torn, or removed, the impression of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, which shall have been provided, made, or used in pursuance of this act from any vellum, parchment, or paper, or any instrument or writing charged or chargeable with any of the taxes imposed by law; or if any person shall fraudulently use, join, fix, or place, or cause to be used, joined, fixed, or placed, to, with, or upon any vellum, parchment, paper, or any instrument or writing charged or chargeable with any of the taxes hereby imposed, any adhesive stamp, or the impression of any stamp, die, plate, or other instrument, which shall have been provided, made, or used in pursuance of law, and which shall have been cut, torn, or removed from any other vellum, parchment, or paper, or any instrument or writing charged or chargeable with any of the taxes imposed by law; or if any person shall willfully remove or cause to be removed, alter or cause to be altered, the canceling or defacing marks of any adhesive stamp with intent to use the same, or to cause the use of the same, after it shall have been once used, or shall knowingly or willfully sell or buy such washed or restored stamp, or offer the same for sale, or give or expose the same to any person for use, or knowingly use the same, or prepare the same with intent for the further use thereof; or if any person shall knowingly and without lawful excuse (the proof whereof shall lie on the person accused) have in his possession any washed, restored, or altered stamp which has been removed from any vellum, parchment, paper, instrument, or writing, then, and in every such case, every person so offending, and every person knowingly and willfully aiding, abetting, or assisting in committing any such offenses as aforesaid shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall forfeit the said counterfeit stamps and the articles upon which they are placed, and shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$1,000, or by imprisonment and confinement at hard labor not exceeding five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 9. That in any and all cases where an adhesive stamp shall be used for denoting any tax imposed by this act, except as hereinafter provided, the person using or affixing the same shall write or stamp thereupon the initials of his name and the date upon which the same shall be attached or used, so that the same may not again be used. And if any person shall fraudulently make use of an adhesive stamp to denote any tax imposed by this act without so effectually canceling and obliterating such stamp, except as before mentioned, he, she, or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not exceeding \$500, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 10. That if any person or persons shall make, sign, or issue, or cause to be made, signed, or issued or shall accept or pay, or cause to be accepted or paid, with design to evade the payment of any stamp tax, any bill of exchange, draft, or order, or promissory note for the payment of money, liable to any of the taxes imposed by this act, without the same being duly stamped, or having thereupon an adhesive stamp for denoting the tax hereby charged thereon, he, she, or they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$200, at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 11. That the acceptor or acceptors of any bill of exchange or order for the payment of any sum of money drawn, or purporting to be drawn, in any foreign country, but payable in the United States, shall, before paying or accepting the same, place thereupon a stamp, indicating the tax upon the same, as the law requires for inland bills of exchange or promissory notes; and no bill of exchange shall be paid or negotiated without such stamp; and if any person shall pay or negotiate, or offer in payment, or receive or take in payment, any such draft or order, the person or persons so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$100, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 12. That in any collection district where, in the judgment of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the facilities for the procurement and distribution of adhesive stamps are or shall be insufficient, the commissioner, as aforesaid, is authorized to furnish, supply, and deliver to the collector of any district, and the said collector is hereby authorized to furnish to any assistant treasurer of the United States or designated depository thereof, or any postmaster located in his collection district, a suitable quantity of adhesive stamps, without prepayment therefor, and may in advance require of any collector, assistant treasurer of the United States, or postmaster a bond, with sufficient sureties, to an amount equal to the value of the adhesive stamps which may be placed in his hands and remain unaccounted for, conditioned for the faithful return, whenever so required, of all quantities or amounts undisposed of, and for the payment monthly of all quantities or amounts sold or not remaining on hand. And it shall be the duty of such collector to supply his deputies with, or sell to other parties within his district who may make application therefor, adhesive stamps, upon the same terms allowed by law or under the regulations of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who is hereby authorized to make such other regulations, not inconsistent herewith, for the security of the United States and the better accommodation of the public, in relation to the matters hereinbefore mentioned, as he may judge necessary and expedient. And the Secretary of the Treasury may from time to time make such regulations as he may find necessary to insure the safe-keeping or prevent the illegal use of all such adhesive stamps.

SEC. 13. That any person or persons who shall register, issue, sell, or transfer, or who shall cause to be issued, registered, sold, or transferred, any instrument, document, or paper of any kind or description whatsoever mentioned in Schedule A of this act, without the same being duly stamped, or having thereupon an adhesive stamp for denoting the tax chargeable thereon, and canceled in the manner required by law, with intent to evade the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$50, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both, in the discretion of the court; and such instrument, document, or paper, not being stamped according to law, shall be deemed invalid and

of no effect: *Provided*, That hereafter, in all cases where the party has not affixed to any instrument the stamp required by law thereon at the time of issuing, selling, or transferring the said bonds, debentures, or certificates of stock or of indebtedness, and he or they, or any party having an interest therein, shall be subsequently desirous of affixing such stamp to said instrument, or, if said instrument be lost, to a copy thereof, he or they shall appear before the collector of internal revenue of the proper district, who shall, upon the payment of the price of the proper stamp required by law, and of a penalty of \$10, and, where the whole amount of the tax denoted by the stamp required shall exceed the sum of \$50, on payment also of interest, at the rate of 6 per cent, on said tax from the day on which such stamp ought to have been affixed, affix the proper stamp to such bond, debenture, certificate of stock or of indebtedness or copy, and note upon the margin thereof the date of his so doing, and the fact that such penalty has been paid; and the same shall thereupon be deemed and held to be as valid, to all intents and purposes, as if stamped when made or issued: *And provided further*, That where it shall appear to said collector, upon oath or otherwise, to his satisfaction, that any such instrument has not been duly stamped, at the time of making or issuing the same, by reason of accident, mistake, inadvertence, or urgent necessity, and without any willful design to defraud the United States of the stamp, or to evade or delay the payment thereof, then and in such case, if such instrument, or, if the original be lost, a copy thereof, duly certified by the officer having charge of any records in which such original is required to be recorded, or otherwise duly proven to the satisfaction of the collector, shall, within 12 calendar months after the making or issuing thereof, be brought to the said collector of internal revenue to be stamped, and the stamp tax chargeable thereon shall be paid, it shall be lawful for the said collector to remit the penalty aforesaid and to cause such instrument to be duly stamped. And when the original instrument, or a certified or duly proven copy thereof, as aforesaid, duly stamped so as to entitle the same to be recorded, shall be presented to the clerk, register, recorder, or other officer having charge of the original record, it shall be lawful for such officer, upon the payment of the fee legally chargeable for the recording thereof, to make a new record thereof, or to note upon the original record the fact that the error or omission in the stamping of said original instrument has been corrected pursuant to law; and the original instrument or such certified copy, or the record thereof, may be used in all courts and places in the same manner and with like effect as if the instrument had been originally stamped: *And provided further*, That in all cases where the party has not affixed the stamp required by law upon any such instrument issued, registered, sold, or transferred at a time when and at a place where no collection district was established, it shall be lawful for him or them, or any party having an interest therein, to affix the proper stamp thereto, or, if the original be lost, to a copy thereof. But no right acquired in good faith before the stamping of such instrument, or copy thereof, as herein provided, if such record be required by law, shall in any manner be affected by such stamping as aforesaid.

SEC. 14. That hereafter no instrument, paper, or document required by law to be stamped which has been signed or issued without being duly stamped or with a deficient stamp, nor any copy thereof, shall be recorded or admitted or used as evidence in any court until a legal stamp or stamps, denoting the amount of tax, shall have been affixed thereto as prescribed by law: *Provided*, That any bond, debenture, certificate of stock, or certificate of indebtedness issued in any foreign country shall pay the same tax as is required by law on similar instruments when issued, sold, or transferred in the United States; and the party to whom the same is issued or by whom it is sold or transferred shall, before selling or transferring the same, affix thereon the stamp or stamps indicating the tax required.

SEC. 15. That it shall not be lawful to record or register any instrument, paper, or document required by law to be stamped unless a stamp or stamps of the proper amount shall have been affixed and canceled in the manner prescribed by law; and the record, registry, or transfer of any such instruments upon which the proper stamp or stamps aforesaid shall not have been affixed and canceled as aforesaid shall not be used in evidence.

SEC. 16. That no instrument, paper, or document required by law to be stamped shall be deemed or held invalid and of no effect for the want of a particular kind or description of stamp designated for and denoting the tax charged on any such instrument, paper, or document, provided a legal documentary stamp or stamps denoting a tax of equal amount shall have been duly affixed and used thereon.

SEC. 17. That all bonds, debentures, or certificates of indebtedness issued by the officers of the United States Government or by the officers of any State, county, town, municipal corporation, or other corporation exercising the taxing power shall be, and hereby are, exempt from the stamp taxes required by this act: *Provided*, That it is the intent hereby to exempt from the stamp taxes imposed by this act such State, county, town, or other municipal corporations in the exercise only of functions strictly belonging to them in their ordinary governmental, taxing, or municipal capacity: *Provided further*, That stock and bonds issued by cooperative building and loan associations whose capital stock does not exceed \$10,000 and building and loan associations or companies that make loans only to their shareholders shall be exempt from the tax herein provided.

SEC. 18. That the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shall cause to be prepared for the payment of the taxes prescribed in this act suitable stamps denoting the tax on the document, article, or thing to which the same may be affixed, and he is authorized to prescribe such method for the cancellation of said stamps, as substitute for or in addition to the method provided in this act, as he may deem expedient. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, is authorized to procure any of the stamps provided for in this act by contract whenever such stamps can not be speedily prepared by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing; but this authority shall expire on the 1st day of November, 1915, except as to imprinted stamps furnished under contract, authorized by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. That the adhesive stamps used in the payment of the tax levied in Schedule A of this act shall be furnished for sale by the several collectors of internal revenue, who shall sell and deliver them at their face value to all persons applying for the same, except officers or employees of the Internal Revenue Service: *Provided*, That such collectors may sell and deliver such stamps in quantities of not less than \$100 of face value, with a discount of 1 per cent, except as otherwise provided in this act.

SCHEDULE A—STAMP TAXES.

Bonds, debentures, or certificates of indebtedness issued after the 1st day of November, A. D. 1914, by any association, company, or corpora-

tion, on each \$100 of face value or fraction thereof, 5 cents, and on each original issue, whether on organization or reorganization, of certificates of stock by any such association, company, or corporation, on each \$100 of face value or fraction thereof, 5 cents, and on all sales, or agreements to sell, or memoranda of sales or deliveries or transfers of shares or certificates of stock in any association, company, or corporation, whether made upon or shown by the books of the association, company, or corporation, or by any assignment in blank, or by any delivery, or by any paper or agreement or memorandum or other evidence of transfer or sale, whether entitling the holder in any manner to the benefit of such stock, or to secure the future payment of money or for the future transfer of any stock, on each \$100 of face value or fraction thereof, 2 cents: *Provided*, That in case of sale where the evidence of transfer is shown only by the books of the company the stamp shall be placed upon such books; and where the change of ownership is by transfer certificate the stamp shall be placed upon the certificate; and in cases of an agreement to sell or where the transfer is by delivery of the certificate assigned in blank there shall be made and delivered by the seller to the buyer a bill or memorandum of such sale, to which the stamp shall be affixed; and every bill or memorandum of sale or agreement to sell before mentioned shall show the date thereof, the name of the seller, the amount of the sale, and the matter or thing to which it refers. And any person or persons liable to pay the tax as herein provided, or anyone who acts in the matter as agent or broker for such person or persons, who shall make any such sale, or who shall in pursuance of any such sale deliver any such stock, or evidence of the sale of any such stock or bill or memorandum thereof, as herein required, without having the proper stamps affixed thereto, with intent to evade the foregoing provisions shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not exceeding \$1,000, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Upon each sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, any products or merchandise at any exchange, or board of trade, or other similar place, either for present or future delivery, for each \$100 in value of said sale or agreement of sale or agreement to sell, 1 cent, and for each additional \$100 or fractional part thereof in excess of \$100, 1 cent: *Provided*, That on every sale or agreement of sale or agreement to sell as aforesaid there shall be made and delivered by the seller to the buyer a bill, memorandum, agreement, or other evidence of such sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, to which there shall be affixed a lawful stamp or stamps in value equal to the amount of the tax on such sale. And every such bill, memorandum, or other evidence of sale or agreement to sell shall show the date thereof, the name of the seller, the amount of the sale, and the matter or thing to which it refers; and any person or persons liable to pay the tax as herein provided, or anyone who acts in the matter as agent or broker for such person or persons, who shall make any such sale or agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, or who shall, in pursuance of any such sale, agreement of sale, or agreement to sell, deliver any such products or merchandise without a bill, memorandum, or other evidence thereof as herein required, or who shall deliver such bill, memorandum, or other evidence of sale, or agreement to sell, without having the proper stamps affixed thereto, with intent to evade the foregoing provisions, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall pay a fine of not exceeding \$1,000, or be imprisoned not more than six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Promissory notes, except bank notes issued for circulation, and for each renewal of the same, for a sum not exceeding \$100, 2 cents; and for each additional \$100 or fractional part thereof in excess of \$100, 2 cents.

Express and freight: It shall be the duty of every railroad or steamboat company, carrier, express company, or corporation or person whose occupation is to act as such, to issue to the shipper or consignee, or his agent, or person from whom any goods are accepted for transportation, a bill of lading, manifest, or other evidence of receipt and forwarding for each shipment received for carriage and transportation, whether in bulk or in boxes, bales, packages, bundles, or not so inclosed or included; and such shipper, consignee, agent, or person shall duly attach and cancel, as is in this act provided, to each of said bills of lading, manifests, or other memorandum, a stamp of the value of 1 cent: *Provided*, That but one bill of lading shall be required on bundles or packages of newspapers when inclosed in one general bundle at the time of shipment. Any failure to issue such bill of lading, manifest, or other memorandum, as herein provided, shall subject such railroad or steamboat company, carrier, express company, or corporation or person to a penalty of \$50 for each offense, and no such bill of lading, manifest, or other memorandum shall be used in evidence unless it shall be duly stamped as aforesaid.

Telegraph and telephone messages: It shall be the duty of every person, firm, or corporation owning or operating any telegraph or telephone line or lines to make within the first 15 days of each month a sworn statement to the collector of internal revenue in each of their respective districts, stating the number of dispatches, messages, or conversations transmitted over their respective lines during the preceding month for which a charge of 15 cents or more was imposed, and for each of such messages or conversations the said person, firm, or corporation shall pay a tax of 1 cent: *Provided*, That only one payment of said tax shall be required, notwithstanding the lines of one or more persons, firms, or corporations shall be used for the transmission of each of said messages or conversations: *Provided further*, That the messages or dispatches of the officers and employees of any telegraph or telephone company concerning the affairs and service of the company, and like messages or dispatches of the officials and employees of railroad companies sent over the wires on their respective railroads shall be exempt from this requirement: *And provided further*, That messages of officers and employees of the Government on official business shall be exempt from the taxes herein imposed upon telegraphic and telephonic messages.

Bond: For indemnifying any person or persons, firm, or corporation who shall have become bound or engaged as surety for the payment of any sum of money, or for the due execution or performance of the duties of any office or position, and to account for money received by virtue thereof, and all other bonds of any description, except such as may be required in legal proceedings, not otherwise provided for in this schedule, 50 cents.

Certificate of profits, or any certificate or memorandum showing an interest in the property or accumulations of any association, company, or corporation, and on all transfers thereof, on each \$100 of face value or fraction thereof, 2 cents.

Certificate: Any certificate of damage, or otherwise, and all other certificates or documents issued by any port warden, marine surveyor, or other person acting as such, 25 cents.

Certificate of any description required by law not otherwise specified in this act, 10 cents.

Contract: Broker's note, or memorandum of sale of any goods or merchandise, stocks, bonds, exchange, notes of hand, real estate, or property of any kind or description issued by brokers or persons acting as such, for each note or memorandum of sale, not otherwise provided for in this act, 10 cents.

Conveyance: Deed, instrument, or writing, whereby any lands, tenements, or other realty sold shall be granted, assigned, transferred, or otherwise conveyed to, or vested in, the purchaser or purchasers, or any other person or persons, by his, her, or their direction, when the consideration or value exceeds \$100 and does not exceed \$500, 50 cents; and for each additional \$500 or fractional part thereof in excess of \$500, 50 cents.

Entry of any goods, wares, or merchandise at any customhouse, either for consumption or warehousing, not exceeding \$100 in value, 25 cents; exceeding \$100 and not exceeding \$500 in value, 50 cents; exceeding \$500 in value, \$1.

Entry for the withdrawal of any goods or merchandise from customs bonded warehouse, 50 cents.

Insurance (life): Policy of insurance, or other instrument, by whatever name the same shall be called, whereby any insurance shall hereafter be made upon any life or lives, for each \$100 or fractional part thereof 8 cents on the amount insured: *Provided*, That on all policies, for life insurance only, issued on the industrial or weekly-payment plan of insurance, the tax shall be 40 per cent of the amount of the first weekly premium. And it shall be the duty of each person, firm, or corporation issuing such policies to make within the first 15 days of every month a sworn statement to the collector of internal revenue in each of their respective districts, of the total amount of first weekly premiums received on such policies issued by the said person, firm, or corporation during the preceding month, and upon the total amount so received the said person, firm, or corporation shall pay the said tax of 40 per cent: *Provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to any fraternal beneficiary society or order, or farmers' purely local cooperative company or association, or employees' relief associations operated on the lodge system or local cooperation plan, organized and conducted solely by the members thereof for the exclusive benefit of its members and not for profit.

Insurance (marine, inland, fire): Each policy of insurance or other instrument, by whatever name the same shall be called, by which insurance shall be made or renewed upon property of any description (including rents or profits), whether against peril by sea or on inland waters, or by fire or lightning, or other peril, made by any person, association, or corporation, upon the amount of premium charged, one-half of 1 cent on each dollar or fractional part thereof: *Provided*, That purely cooperative or mutual fire insurance companies carried on by the members thereof solely for the protection of their own property and not for profit shall be exempted from the tax herein provided.

Insurance (casualty, fidelity, and guaranty): Each policy of insurance, or bond or obligation of the nature of indemnity for loss, damage, or liability issued, or executed, or renewed by any person, association, company, or corporation, transacting the business of accident, fidelity, employer's liability, plate glass, steam boiler, burglary, elevator, automatic sprinkler, or other branch of insurance (except life, marine, inland, and fire insurance), and each bond, undertaking, or recognizance, conditioned for the performance of the duties of any office or position, or for the doing or not doing of anything therein specified, or other obligation of the nature of indemnity, and each contract or obligation guaranteeing the validity or legality of bonds or other obligations issued by any State, county, municipal, or other public body or organization, or guaranteeing titles to real estate or mercantile credits executed or guaranteed by any fidelity, guaranty, or surety company upon the amount of premium charged, one-half of 1 cent on each dollar or fractional part thereof.

Mortgage or pledge of lands, estate, or property, real or personal, heritable, or movable, whatsoever, where the same shall be made as a security for the payment of any definite and certain sum of money, lent at the time or previously due and owing or forborne to be paid, being payable; also any conveyance of any lands, estate, or property whatsoever, in trust to be sold or otherwise converted into money, which shall be intended only as security, either by express stipulation or otherwise; on any of the foregoing exceeding \$1,000 and not exceeding \$1,500, 25 cents; and on each \$500 or fractional part thereof in excess of \$1,500, 25 cents: *Provided*, That upon each and every assignment or transfer of a mortgage, or policy of insurance, or the renewal or continuance of any agreement or contract, a stamp duty shall be required and paid at the same rate as that imposed on the original instrument.

Passage ticket, by any vessel from a port in the United States to a foreign port, if costing not exceeding \$30, \$1; costing more than \$30 and not exceeding \$60, \$3; costing more than \$60, \$5.

Power of attorney or proxy for voting at any election for officers of any incorporated company or association, except religious, charitable, or literary societies, or public cemeteries, 10 cents.

Power of attorney to sell and convey real estate, or to rent or lease the same, to receive or collect rent, to sell or transfer any stock, bonds, scrip, or for the collection of any dividends or interest thereon, or to perform any and all other acts not hereinbefore specified, 25 cents: *Provided*, That no stamps shall be required upon any papers necessary to be used for the collection of claims from the United States for pensions, back pay, bounty, or for property lost in the military or naval service.

Protest: Upon the protest of every note, bill of exchange, acceptance, check or draft, or any marine protest, whether protested by a notary public or by any other officer who may be authorized by the law of any State or States to make such protest, 25 cents.

Every seat sold in a palace or parlor car and every berth sold in a sleeping car, 2 cents, to be paid by the company selling the same.

Sec. 19. That all administrative, special, or stamp provisions of law, including the law relating to the assessment of taxes, so far as applicable, are hereby extended to and made a part of this act; and for the expense connected with the assessment and collection of the taxes provided by this act there is hereby appropriated \$130,000, or so much thereof as may be required, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated: \$100,000 to be added to and made a part of the appropriations for "salaries and expenses of collection of internal revenue, 1915; and \$30,000 to the appropriation for paper for internal revenue stamps, 1915."

Sec. 20. That the provisions of this act shall take effect on the day next succeeding the date of its passage, except where otherwise expressly provided: *Provided*, That on the day after the 31st day of

December, 1915, the taxes levied under Schedule A of this act shall no longer be levied and collected, but all taxes arising or accruing before said date shall continue to be collectible under the terms of this act. All stamps provided for in this act unused after the aforesaid date shall be redeemed from the holder thereof, under such rules as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe.

Mr. UNDERWOOD rose.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is recognized for three hours and a half.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, before the debate starts I desire, for the convenience of the Members of the House, to ask unanimous consent that all gentlemen who speak on the bill may be allowed to revise and extend their remarks in the RECORD and that all Members who do not speak on the bill may have seven legislative days in which to print remarks on the bill.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama asks unanimous consent that all gentlemen who speak on the bill shall have the right to extend and enlarge their remarks, and those who do not speak may have seven legislative days within which to print their remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered. The gentleman from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. DONOVAN. Mr. Speaker, we had a great struggle here this morning for a great deal of debate. Those people who wanted extended debate are absent. I am going to make a point of no quorum, to see if we can get them here. No quorum, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and ninety-seven gentlemen are present—not a quorum.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama moves a call of the House. The question is on agreeing to that motion.

The motion was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

Adamson	Gardner	Lindquist	Rayburn
Alken	George	Lobeck	Rothermel
Anthony	Gillett	Loft	Rucker
Aswell	Goeke	McClellan	Scully
Austin	Good	Maher	Sells
Bartholdt	Graham, Pa.	Martin	Small
Bartlett	Gregg	Merritt	Smith, N. Y.
Bell, Cal.	Guernsey	Metz	Stephens, Nebr.
Brown, N. Y.	Hamill	Miller	Stephens, Tex.
Brown, W. Va.	Harris	Moore	Stringer
Browning	Hensley	Murdock	Sumners
Burke, Pa.	Hobson	Neely, W. Va.	Taggart
Calder	Howard	Nelson	Talbott, Md.
Carr	Hoxworth	Oglesby	Ten Eyck
Connolly, Iowa	Humphreys, Miss.	Oldfield	Thacher
Conry	Johnson, Utah	O'Leary	Townsend
Covington	Kahn	Palmer	Treadway
Crisp	Kennedy, Conn.	Parker	Walters
Driscoll	Kent	Patten, N. Y.	Watkins
Edmonds	Kettner	Patton, Pa.	Whaley
Elder	Kindel	Platt	Whitacre
Fairchild	Knowland, J. R.	Plumley	Wilson, N. Y.
Faison	Konop	Post	Woodruff
Finley	Korbly	Powers	Woods
Fitzgerald	Lafferty	Prouty	
Francis	L'Engle	Ragsdale	
French	Lewis, Pa.	Rainey	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 324 Members—a quorum—have answered to their names.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that further proceedings under the call be dispensed with.

The motion was agreed to.

EMERGENCY REVENUE LEGISLATION.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] is recognized for three hours and a half. [Applause.]

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, the legislation that is now pending before the House does not come here on our initiative. One of the greatest calamities that has ever confronted humanity is staring the world in the face to-day. It has not only shattered the temples of peace in the world, but it has disturbed business conditions the world over. In our own country, which to-day is at peace with all the world and will continue to be at peace with all the world [applause], we are suffering in a business way more severely than we have suffered through any period of recent history, since the close of the War between the States.

The President of the United States, exercising that function which the Constitution of the United States has granted to him, has advised the Congress that the revenues that are necessary

to support the Government of the United States have been so seriously disturbed by the war conditions in Europe that it is necessary immediately to pass legislation that will furnish sufficient moneys to meet the ordinary expenditures of this Government. It is never pleasant to levy taxes. I recognize the fact that it is most inexpedient to ask our own party to pass a tax bill almost in the face of a pending election. But if the Democratic Party, who have been intrusted with the Government of the United States, has not the patriotism or the courage to face all conditions that may confront them at all times, and patriotically pass the legislation that is necessary to protect the country, regardless of the effect it may have on their personal fortunes, then the great party to which we hold allegiance will be unworthy, not only of the historic record that they have made since the beginning of the Government, but unworthy of the trust that the American people have imposed upon them. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

It is contended that the present condition of our finances does not grow out of war conditions in Europe, but is due to the failure of the present tariff law to raise sufficient funds to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government. Mr. Speaker, it is not difficult to demonstrate the absolute unreliability of the statement that under ordinary circumstances the revenue laws now on the statute books will not meet the expenditures that have been provided for by the Congress. But as to whether or not the present tariff law brings sufficient revenue, and as to whether or not the Treasury conditions are bettered or injured by the enactment of that law, a very few statements of fact must convince any man whose mind is open to conviction.

The total ordinary receipts of the Government, which include taxes collected at the customhouse and internal-revenue taxes, but exclude the revenues derived by the Post Office Department, when the Payne tariff law was in operation, were \$691,778,465, for the fiscal year 1912. For the fiscal year 1913 the ordinary receipts, when the Payne tariff law was on the statute books, were \$724,111,230. In the fiscal year 1914 the Payne tariff law was in operation for the months of July, August, and September, and the Democratic law for the other nine months. The ordinary receipts for that year were \$734,343,700. It is apparent from these figures that last year, with the Payne law in operation for three months and the Democratic law for nine months, the ordinary receipts were over \$42,000,000 more than those of 1912, when the Payne law was in operation, and that last year the ordinary receipts exceeded those of 1913 by over \$10,000,000. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

It may be contended that the Payne law was on the statute books for three months, and that the Democratic law operated only nine months, and that the Payne law carried it over. As a matter of fact, the customs receipts under the Democratic tariff law exceeded its authors' expectations. The minority say that there has been a falling off in customs revenues and pride themselves on the fact that the Payne law collected more customs revenues than the present law. The gentlemen seem to overlook the fact that when the present Democratic law was brought before this House the country was advised of the fact that we proposed to reduce the receipts collected at the customhouse, and in lieu thereof levy an income tax to make up the difference. [Applause on the Democratic side.] As a matter of fact, the amount of revenue collected at the customhouse during the last year was \$22,000,000 in excess of the amount that was estimated by the proponents of the present law when the bill passed and became a law. I will print in the RECORD a table showing the customs and the total ordinary receipts by months for the three years to which I have referred.

The following is the table referred to:

Customs revenue and total ordinary receipts for the fiscal years 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915 to date.

CUSTOMS REVENUE.

Month.	1912	1913	1914	1915
July.....	\$23,404,502.50	\$28,136,502.27	\$27,806,654.54	\$22,988,465.04
August.....	25,952,466.21	30,205,331.96	30,934,952.44	19,431,332.52
September.....	24,746,309.77	27,475,127.85	26,794,494.25	
October.....	25,757,036.40	30,216,824.02	30,138,049.37	
November.....	24,704,345.15	25,666,353.25	21,173,627.85	
December.....	24,587,327.55	24,248,161.30	21,510,139.99	
January.....	24,654,652.30	29,334,124.09	23,528,079.83	
February.....	26,337,528.23	27,605,115.83	17,009,603.70	
March.....	30,408,561.39	27,457,489.20	25,927,212.90	
April.....	26,184,467.79	23,683,966.76	22,232,766.57	
May.....	26,578,973.14	20,434,749.21	20,800,573.25	
June.....	28,005,501.99	24,417,650.12	23,672,372.94	
Total.....	311,321,672.22	318,891,395.88	292,128,527.63	42,419,827.56

TOTAL ORDINARY RECEIPTS.

Month.	1912	1913	1914	1915
July.....	\$52,085,061.76	\$50,536,333.50	\$60,231,524.12	\$73,224,173.53
August.....	54,804,682.82	60,205,002.32	61,600,197.15	51,072,898.30
September.....	56,335,353.09	55,682,556.08	56,073,397.05	
October.....	56,054,411.31	54,469,504.07	64,196,633.15	
November.....	57,588,831.93	59,069,393.94	55,515,132.92	
December.....	53,749,605.62	55,821,538.88	53,152,435.89	
January.....	52,461,711.56	60,542,363.45	53,977,886.39	
February.....	53,932,609.01	54,803,419.47	43,633,857.33	
March.....	59,296,026.64	56,720,083.57	54,801,890.84	
April.....	53,305,711.82	53,452,556.72	50,488,806.53	
May.....	58,369,952.26	55,370,363.84	55,389,211.77	
June.....	64,795,507.53	68,438,114.00	125,280,727.05	
Total.....	691,778,465.37	724,111,229.84	734,343,700.20	124,297,071.83

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Of course the falling off in revenue is more apparent during certain months than it is on the average, because it falls off at the customhouse, and we collect our income-tax revenue at the end of each fiscal year, in the month of June. But when you come to the average we have produced annually more revenue under this bill than the Payne law produced. The above table shows that during the year 1914 the customs revenue collected amounted to \$292,000,000. Of this amount \$35,500,000 was collected before the present law went into effect. The customs revenues collected during the first nine months that the law was in effect amounted to \$206,500,000, or \$22,900,000 per month. The customs revenues collected during the fiscal year 1913, the last year that the Payne law was in operation, amounted to \$318,891,396, or \$26,000,000 per month. The new tariff law provides an income tax to make up for the reduction in customs revenues because of the lowering of the tariff taxes. For the last 10 months of the calendar year 1913 there accrued from the income tax on individuals \$31,344,539.

The amount of the corporation, excise, and income tax accruing for the entire calendar year of 1913 was \$45,851,028. The total amount of the excise tax on corporations, derived by the Treasury in the calendar year 1912, was \$35,006,293.

The new income-tax law eliminated the corporation exemption of \$5,000, added to the tax list many corporations not subject to the excise tax, and also imposed a graduated rate upon corporations holding stock in others. These provisions account for the entire difference between the receipts from corporations for the year 1912 and the year 1913, which is \$10,844,729. This sum, added to the amount of the income tax accruing from individuals for the year 1913, namely, \$31,344,539, would aggregate \$42,189,268, or \$4,000,000 per month, during the time in which the new corporation and income tax law has been in effect. Adding the average monthly customs receipts to the average monthly income-tax receipts under the new law gives \$26,900,000, as compared with \$26,600,000 under the act of 1909. This average monthly comparison only extends to the close of the fiscal year of 1914.

For the present fiscal year, 1915, the comparison is much more favorable to the new tariff and income-tax law, for the reason that the individual income-tax law only covered 10 months of the year 1913, and in reality only reached all semiannual incomes payable in January and July for four months of that year, and all like quarterly incomes payable in January, July, and October for but seven months of that year. Considering the unsettled business conditions during the year 1914, largely on account of the disturbed international commercial and other conditions, the best obtainable figures as to the estimated amount that will accrue from the corporation tax for 1914 is \$42,500,000, while the same estimates from individual income tax is \$42,500,000, making a total of \$85,000,000. Deducting from this amount \$35,000,000 that would otherwise have accrued from corporation excise tax under the act of 1909 leaves \$50,000,000, or \$4,166,000 per month, that would accrue to the Treasury from the income tax for the fiscal year 1915. Adding this average monthly yield to the average monthly yield of the present tariff law gives \$27,038,000, as compared with \$23,600,000 under the act of 1909.

There can be no doubt, from another standpoint, that we have raised the revenue under the present law to support the Government. At the end of the last fiscal year there was a surplus of over \$33,000,000 above ordinary expenditures. [Applause on the Democratic side.] It is true that we expended on the Panama Canal something over \$34,000,000, but the Republican administrations in the past have many times before provided for the expenditures on the Panama Canal by the sale of bonds, and the law itself does not contemplate that the ordinary collections of revenue should be sufficient to meet the expenditures on the canal.

The condition of the Treasury remained undisturbed until the unfortunate war in Europe began. Almost immediately we found our custom revenue falling off. The gentlemen may say that there is a difference between the amount of revenue collected under the present law and the Payne bill, something in excess of \$4,000,000 a month, and that we should return to a law providing for taxation along the lines of the Payne bill in order to protect the Treasury against a deficit in the present emergency. But I wish to call your attention to the fact that, if we had allowed the Payne bill to stand on the statute books and no income tax had been levied and collected, if we had not removed the exemption under the corporation tax, and that if we had only collected from the corporations the \$35,000,000 collected under the Payne bill instead of the \$77,000,000 accruing from the corporation and income tax collected under the operation of the present law, we would have had \$15,000,000 more revenue to make up to-day for losses at the customhouse, in addition to \$100,000,000 we are proposing to levy. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Again, where do we lose this revenue? A large portion of this revenue that we are losing at the customhouse came from the tax on wool—raw wool—that is needed by our manufacturers in order that they may make cheaper clothes for the American people. I would like to ask the gentlemen on that side of the House whether they propose to go to their constituents in New England and the Eastern States this fall and contend that the tax on raw wool ought to be restored and thus put up the price of clothes to the people?

Mr. MANN. Does the gentleman want an answer?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. MANN. The price of clothing has not gone down at all on account of the removal of the tariff on wool.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I think the gentleman is mistaken in that respect.

Mr. MANN. Perhaps the gentleman has his clothes given to him.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have seen some quotations which indicate clearly that the price of clothing has gone down. I recognize the fact, and I stated more than a year ago that after you relieve the burden it takes time before competition will drive down the price so the American people can get the benefit. And I ask the gentlemen from New England and the East on that side of the House if they propose to contend here that that tax should be rewritten into the law in order to raise the revenue? I would like to ask the gentlemen from New England and the East if they propose to increase this revenue by putting back the tax on raw materials, such as iron ore and other materials of that kind that have been coming in free to their constituents, in order to make up this tax, and go back to the Payne bill?

About \$10,000,000 of this falling off in revenue has been upon sugar. The reduction of the tariff tax on sugar accounts for a falling off of the customs revenue between the present law and the Payne bill of something like \$10,000,000. Which one of you gentlemen is prepared to say that you want to return to power in order to rewrite that tax and put those \$10,000,000 of burden on the consuming people of the United States, instead of levying it on the incomes of those most able to bear the tax burden? [Applause on the Democratic side.] So that when we come down to this cry that the falling off of customs revenue is the fault of the present tariff law there is not a fact that sustains it, and there is not a Republican who will go into the present campaign and propose to put back the tax on the articles that I have mentioned, which have raised the greater portion of this burden of taxation that was taken off. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But I am surprised to find that in the report of the minority they make two contentions. They are trying to ride two horses going in different directions at the same time, and I think the result of that acrobatic performance, when the November election takes place, will be the same that they have faced in the last four years. [Applause on the Democratic side.] They first contend that it is not necessary to write this bill, because the present law is ample to take care of the situation, and that we do not need the enactment of a new law to take care of the Treasury, and then they take the position that the whole misfortune that we are facing is due to the fact that the present law does not raise enough revenue to support the Government. [Laughter and applause on the Democratic side.] I will say to the gentlemen upon that side of the House that the present law does raise a sufficient revenue to support the ordinary expenses of the Government, if an unforeseen event, such as the war in Europe, had not happened. It has raised enough, but if your

contention is correct, and it does not raise sufficient revenue to support the Government, do you expect us to put back the tax on raw wool and iron ore and sugar, or do you expect us to follow out our own policies, if we have not enough money, and levy the taxes upon the principles that we have always contended for? Therefore if it does not produce sufficient revenue to run the Government it is high time that we should make it up now.

As to the question of whether or not we are facing an exigency that requires the passage of this bill, I shall print in the RECORD a table showing the importations from countries that are now at war in Europe, giving the amount of dutiable imports that came into this country from those countries in 1914, and the amount of revenue derived therefrom. I will only delay you now to state that the dutiable imports coming from Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Russia in Europe, Serbia, Montenegro, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain for the year 1914 amounted to \$385,989,551, and that the estimated falling off in revenue during the next 12 months will amount to \$125,811,000 should all imports from these countries cease. I ask you to bear in mind now that that does not take into consideration the imports that came from the colonies of these countries, nor does it take into consideration the falling off of import duties from other countries in the civilized world that are not at war to-day, due to the fact of the disturbed conditions of business and the disturbed shipping conditions of the world growing out of this war. Of all the countries I have named it is fair to presume that there will practically be no importations, except from Great Britain, until the war is over. From Great Britain the usual revenue derived from imports amounts to about \$40,000,000. I think it is safe to assume that our revenues derived from that source next year will not be over \$20,000,000, and assuming that we will practically receive no revenues from the countries at war on the Continent of Europe it will leave a falling off of revenue of a little over \$100,000,000, which does not take into consideration any falling off of revenue from the colonies of these countries, nor from the balance of the world that is disturbed by war conditions. Therefore, I think the President was conservative in his estimate when he delivered his message to Congress some weeks ago asking us to provide against this falling off in revenues, when he estimated that we needed \$100,000,000 more, raised by taxes other than customs taxes, to meet this emergency. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

The following is the table above referred to:

Estimated falling off in customs revenue during the next 12 months because of the European war.

Country.	Dutiable imports, value 1914.	Estimated falling off in revenues during next 12 months.
Austria-Hungary.....	\$15,232,645	\$5,267,000
Belgium.....	21,324,417	5,398,000
France.....	95,445,062	35,566,000
Germany.....	119,383,978	38,683,000
Russia in Europe.....	2,420,602	242,000
Serbia and Montenegro.....	9,627	2,000
United Kingdom.....	132,173,220	40,653,000
Total.....	385,989,551	125,811,000

NOTE.—This estimate is made on the assumption that all imports from the European countries at war will cease during the next 12 months. The import values shown represent the dutiable articles imported during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. The estimated falling off in revenue is computed by applying the rate of the act of 1913 to the imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, has the gentleman the figures to show how much imports have fallen off in August or up to date in September?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I think I can give them to the gentleman in a moment. I have before me the data that I got this morning from the Department of Commerce.

Mr. MANN. That is the reason I asked, because we can not get that data.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. It came to me only this morning, and I will be very glad to furnish it to the gentleman. The values of dutiable imports for August, 1913, were \$67,588,736, and for August, 1914, they were \$49,499,747, or a falling off of \$18,000,000 for that month.

Mr. MANN. Has the gentleman the total imports for August, 1913 and 1914, and also up to date in September?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. This was for the month of August that I was reading. The total imports, including those free and those dutiable, for August, 1913, amounted to \$137,651,553, and for August, 1914, including both dutiable and free, \$129,767,890. I wish, however, to call the attention of the House to the fact—

Mr. MANN. Has the gentleman the figures there to show what the difference was in the total imports? How much did the total imports fall off this year during the month of August from what they were last year in the month of August?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I read the figures to the gentleman, and if he will take his pencil I think he can subtract them. I have not the figures before me.

Mr. MADDEN. It is something less than \$8,000,000.

Mr. MANN. I thought possibly the gentleman had it there. I thought I must be mistaken, and it could not be only \$8,000,000.

Mr. MADDEN. That is all it is.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, the fact that free imports have not fallen off so much as imports that are taxed is due to the fact that almost all raw material that we bring in free and admit free, other than that allowed by our last tariff bill, comes from countries in Europe that are not at war. For instance, our raw wool comes from Australia, some of it, and much of it from South America. Australia is a colony of one of the nations at war, but its conditions have not been disturbed as much as the mother country up to this time. Then, the iron ore that comes in here comes in from Cuba or comes in from Spain or from Norway, and is not imported from countries at war. In fact, the countries at war furnish us with very little, if any, of the raw material, and this fact accounts largely for the amount of free importation. On the other hand, the dutiable imports that come in from Europe, and about one-half of the imports that are taxed that come into this country, come to us from the countries at war, and show that great falling off in revenue. I want to call attention to another fact, and that is, in the port of Baltimore there has been a very much greater falling off in revenue than at the ports of New York and Philadelphia in proportion to the amount usually received at those ports. And why? Because Baltimore has very small warehouse facilities. Only a small amount of goods is carried in bonded warehouses in Baltimore, and you understand that, as long as goods are in bonded warehouses, they are not imported and not so regarded by the Treasury Department.

On the other hand, the dutiable imports that have come to us from places like New York and Philadelphia, where a very large per cent of the imports are entered, are articles from the large bonded warehouses, and most of those imports which are accounted for in August are goods that had already arrived before hostilities commenced in Europe and have since that time been taken out of the bonded warehouses. In fact, I am advised by the department that a very large proportion of the imports that were admitted at the port of Philadelphia in the month of August were taken out of bonded warehouses and did not come in ships from abroad. So the probabilities are that for many months the conditions shown now at the customhouses are likely to become worse, growing out of this war in Europe, instead of better. More than that, the business conditions, as well as the armies, of the countries at war have been shot to pieces. Their factories and their furnaces, their industrial business, has suffered as materially as their forces in the field. When this war is over—and we all hope it will be over at an early date [applause]—we can not expect, for many years to come, that the imports coming from those countries will reach the amount that has been coming to the United States from those countries. In the first place, when their business is reorganized it will probably be short of capital. In the next place, they will have first to supply the demands of their own people, and hence when they enter the foreign fields it will be much easier for them to contend for the markets of Africa and South America and the Orient than to come in competition with us; and when they push out for new business after the war is over they will push out along the lines of least resistance and send their exports to other countries rather than to ours. So that the condition in the revenue at the customhouses is likely to exist for years after this war is over. Now, with the loss of \$100,000,000 or more at the customhouse, whether we are operating under a Republican revenue bill or a Democratic revenue bill, it is necessary to take care of the Government and supply that shortage of revenue from some other source than the customhouse. That is the condition that confronts this country.

Now, you gentlemen are anxious to be returned to power—and that is very natural, gentlemen. I remained in that position many years myself [laughter], and I can appreciate your natural desire to have the country return you to power again.

It is perfectly legitimate for you to criticize the party in power, and, if we are men, we ought to be willing to stand up and take your criticism in good faith; but if we are right and we are men of courage at the same time, we are going to take care of this Government regardless of your criticisms. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You may say that we should economize, and I have no doubt you will say it [laughter on the Republican side]; and I can only say, in return, that this is simply a case of the pot calling the kettle black. [Laughter on the Republican side.] Personally, I should very gladly see a system of economy inaugurated in this country. Under the present system it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, for the Congress to inaugurate a system of economy without affecting the efficiency of the Government. For many years the Republican Party inaugurated a system of expenditures and appropriations under which the Democratic Party has been operating for the last four years. Commencing some few decades ago, we began to divide our appropriation bills among several committees. We decentralized the control of appropriations and left that control without a head. It has been my opinion for years, and is now, that the only way we can work out economy and efficiency at the same time is for the Government to centralize the control of appropriations, either by putting them in control of one committee in the House and in the Senate or by adopting a budget system that will have control over all committees; and I believe that the day is not far distant when such a system will be inaugurated. Some efforts have already been made on the Democratic side of the House looking to that result, and I think I can predict, although I expect to leave this body before long, I believe I can confidently predict that the next Democratic House will inaugurate a new system of procedure by which the appropriations will be centralized and either placed in the control of one committee or placed in control of a budget committee, and that then we will begin the real work of economy without affecting the efficiency of the Government. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

But the gentlemen on that side of the House who desire to criticize Democratic expenditures do not stop to tell the people that the last Congress that they controlled reduced this expenditure after it realized it was going out of power by making small appropriations and large contracts that its successor had to pay. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The gentlemen on that side of the House know this, and we know it. We know that the expenditures that we have been responsible for in the main have been the inheritance of contracts that we have gotten from the seed that had been planted by the party that is now out of power. Now, as to this bill, we were confronted with this condition when it became necessary to write a new revenue bill to supply the needs of the Government: We not only had to raise the revenue, but we had to raise it at once, or we had to disturb the fiscal conditions of the country by withdrawing Government money from Federal depositories.

Now, I heard gentlemen this morning criticize us for bringing in a bill here while keeping Government money in Federal banks. I want to say to the gentlemen on that side of the House that there is \$75,000,000 of Government moneys in national banks of the country to-day, and you put \$60,000,000 of it there. When Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States he found \$60,000,000 of the \$75,000,000 in these banks, placed there by your Presidents and your Secretaries of the Treasury. Recently we have increased that amount to \$75,000,000—and why? Because of the closing down of the stock exchanges; the fact that the countries of Europe went to a paper basis and stopped specie payments; the fact that a large amount of foreign-held American securities were dumped on this country and endangered temporarily every financial institution here, because, whether it was a country bank that discounted some of its paper in New York or whether it was a great institution of the East engaged in foreign commerce and foreign exchange, they were all threatened by the same blow.

If the Government of the United States had not gone to the rescue of these institutions whose solvency was jeopardized, not by any fault of their own but by the conditions coming from the war zone of Europe, if we had not gone to the rescue and the great banks had gone down, it would have shaken the banking institutions and the financial institutions of this country from center to circumference. The bank in the far West would have found itself in the same jeopardy that the great banking institution found itself in. I think, gentlemen, you will go to the country with an idle tale if you expect to be returned to power because the Democratic Party, when this great emergency faced the financial life of this Nation, responded to the demands of patriotism and to the needs of the Government. [Applause on the Democratic side.] So far as

the bill itself is concerned you pointed the way for this bill when you got into trouble yourself once. You approved of it and stood by it when it was necessary to levy additional taxes by reason of the Spanish War. You levied an additional tax of \$1 a barrel on beer at that time. This bill levies an additional tax of 50 cents a barrel on beer. You levied a tax of 8 cents a gallon on wine at that time. This bill levies a tax on sweet wines of 20 cents a gallon and 12 cents a gallon on dry wines. The only tax that is levied in this bill that you did not father in 1898 is a tax on gasoline, and this bill levies a tax on gasoline of 2 cents a gallon. We have reenacted your Spanish War taxes as they were, except that we have excluded some. We have excluded the tax on checks and do not tax bank checks at all. We have excluded the tax on warehouse receipts, and do not tax warehouse receipts at all. And we have excluded some other taxes. The only increase in tax is on tobacco dealers. You provided a tax in 1898 of \$12 on all dealers in tobacco, not otherwise provided for, who sold as much as 50,000 pounds. We cut out the limitation and reduced your tax from \$12 to \$4.80. You provided a tax of 1 cent on each receipt given for a sleeping-car berth or a seat in a parlor car. We have increased that tax and made it 2 cents. These are the only increases in rates that we have made in your revenue bill of 1898.

These taxes will produce a revenue on fermented liquors of \$32,500,000; on wines, \$6,000,000; gasoline, \$20,000,000—and that is probably an underestimate—and special taxes, such as on bankers, brokers, and tobacco manufacturers, and so forth, of \$16,500,000; and stamp taxes, \$30,000,000. I think that is a conservative estimate of the revenue that this bill will produce, and it will bring to the Treasury about \$105,000,000. Of course the man whose beer is taxed may say that we ought to tax something else. The man whose gasoline is taxed may want us to levy the tax in some other way, but it does not lie in your mouths to say if it is necessary to levy this tax that it is not levied along lines of conservatism and along lines that you approve of, because you approved of it in 1898, every bit of it, except the tax on gasoline.

Now, the larger proportion of this tax will fall on luxuries and not on necessities. Thirty-two million five hundred thousand dollars falls on fermented liquors and \$6,000,000 on wine. At least half, if not more, of the gasoline tax will fall on automobile owners, even at a conservative estimate.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. In one moment. Now that half of the tax on gasoline will be paid by automobile owners—paid on a luxury—and \$38,000,000 or \$39,000,000 of the tax will fall on beer and wine, and \$16,500,000 on special taxes, then at least \$60,000,000 of the \$100,000,000 falls on luxuries and not on the necessities of life.

Mr. HULINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield now?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I do.

Mr. HULINGS. I would like to ask if the bill contemplates a tax on all gasoline?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. It does.

Mr. HULINGS. As I read the bill, it is only gasoline that is produced from crude or refined petroleum or the residuum of petroleum. There is a very large amount of gasoline that is produced from gas.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, I understand that that gasoline is called "motor spirits." The gentleman may not have a corrected copy of the bill before him, but at the last moment—

Mr. HULINGS. Yes, I have it; but it is known in the trade as gasoline.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. The bill now reads—

That upon gasoline, motor spirits, naphtha, and other products obtained from crude, partially refined, or residuum oils, and suitable for motor power—

A tax of so much shall be levied.

Mr. HULINGS. Now, there is a kind of gasoline that is not produced from either of those things—crude or refined or residuum petroleum.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I think possibly the gentleman is in doubt. This provision was prepared with care. It was submitted for the Treasury Department to consider, with the very question that the gentleman has raised in view, and they contended that this definition would cover it all. But I will say to the gentleman that the purpose of the committee, and the desire of the committee, is to cover all gasoline, and that if I find that this definition is not sufficiently broad to cover it, I

shall be glad to suggest to the Finance Committee of the Senate that they broaden the definition so that it does cover it, although so far as I am informed and know the present definition will cover all gasoline. It is manifestly fair that if you tax the gasoline made by one man you should tax the gasoline made by another. If not, you might injure somebody's business, and it is the purpose of the committee, and I have no doubt of the House, to tax them all alike. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. STEENERSON and Mr. LOGUE rose.

The SPEAKER. To whom does the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will yield first to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. STEENERSON].

Mr. STEENERSON. Has the gentleman any committee figures showing what proportion of gasoline is used for farm purposes, for running thrashing machines or plows or wheat separators, and such machinery as is used on the farm?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I have no accurate figures, but I think that the gasoline used for such purposes is a very small per cent of the total gasoline used.

Mr. STEENERSON. In my country a very large proportion of it is used in that way.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Well, the gentleman may think so; but according to my information it is a small percentage of the total gasoline used when you take into consideration the amount used for motor purposes in the industrial lines and that used for motor purposes for automobiles.

Mr. STEENERSON. In North Dakota and Minnesota and the Northwest generally a very large proportion of the work is done by gasoline.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. That is true; but a very small proportion of gasoline does it.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Alabama yield to the gentleman from Minnesota?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. If it should appear that motor spirits sell for 5 cents a gallon and gasoline sells for 10 cents a gallon, would the gentleman be willing that the Senate committee should take that into consideration, and instead of making a flat tax of 2 cents a gallon, as proposed in the House bill, they should graduate it?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I should not. I do not think it is necessary. I think if you taxed them the same, you would not hurt motor spirits, and you can not afford to reduce the tax on gasoline, because we need the revenue.

Mr. SMITH of Minnesota. A man who pays 2 cents on 5 cents' worth of motor spirits pays about 40 per cent increase, and a man who pays 2 cents on gasoline pays about 20 per cent increase. It seems an injustice is done in that rule.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the gentleman that if I could do so and if I were omnipotent, I would equalize all taxation in proportion to the ability of men to pay it; but I am not omnipotent and I can not do that. [Applause.]

Mr. LOGUE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Yes.

Mr. LOGUE. This section states that a tax of 2 cents a gallon shall be placed on gasoline, motor spirits, naphtha, and other products obtained from crude, partially refined, or residuum oils and suitable for motor power. It is contemplated under this section, under the term "suitable for motor power," that that term shall be restrictive, or, if they are used for other purposes going into manufacture, will they be subject to taxation?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. They would be if they are suitable for motor power. Now, gentlemen, I have taken up more time than I intended. I thank you for your kindly consideration. I have no criticism of our friends on the other side of the Chamber who will indulge in criticism of our passing this bill.

The minority in every legislative body occupies a very useful position, and that is to criticize the action of the majority and see that they properly represent the people and faithfully carry out the mission that has been granted them. But to you gentlemen who hold allegiance to the party in power, I say that if we had known of the emergency that now confronts the Treasury, if we had known that our revenues were falling off and that they had to be supplemented at a future date, and had not been candid and fair to the country and courageous to ourselves, but had postponed the action until after the coming election, we might have subjected ourselves to criticism from the country and from our constituents; but to-day, in the face of this election, we have said to the country that we recognize the exigencies of the Treasury, we realize that conditions over which we have no control make this legislation necessary.

Mr. FORDNEY. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Not just now. We recognize that to take care of the Government taxes must be levied to make up the loss coming to the country by the falling off of the customs revenue.

We present this bill to the country in the face of an election; we conceal nothing. We say whom we propose to tax and whom we do not propose to tax. We tell the country why it is necessary to levy this tax so far as the war is concerned. We are doing an unpleasant duty, but we are performing a duty that the country and the Government requires of us. I feel, that being the case, that there is no reason for any man who holds allegiance to the party in power for one moment to fear to go to the country and ask that country to approve of the man who has done his full duty in a courageous way. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York [Mr. PAYNE] is recognized for three and a half hours. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to be notified after I have spoken one hour, if I speak so long. Mr. Speaker, on the 3d day of October, 1913, at 9 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m., there were assembled at the White House a small coterie of congenial souls and prominent Democratic politicians to witness the act of the President in attaching his signature to the Underwood tariff bill. When he did this the President said—I read this from the Washington Post of October 4, 1913—

"I chose 9 o'clock," explained the President slowly, "on the advice of the Attorney General in order that the bill might be signed after business transactions everywhere, including San Francisco, had closed for the day."

If he had glanced at the preceding line, the last paragraph of the bill, he would have read paragraph U, "that, unless herein otherwise especially provided, this act shall take effect the day following its passage." [Applause on the Republican side.] They copied that from a better law which they wiped off the statute books [laughter on the Republican side], as they copied much of that law without giving credit for it. I suppose they copied that without knowing that it was in the law so that this farce was put into play at the White House on this particular evening.

The Post says further that Mr. UNDERWOOD on the same occasion said:

I have the utmost confidence in this new tariff law. Business men should not be alarmed in the least.

Why was he so anxious that business men should not be alarmed about the tariff law? "He doth protest too much."

They should be encouraged to extend their enterprises. I am absolutely confident that this law will reduce the cost of living in the United States, that it will not disturb business, that it will increase our foreign trade, and that it will provide ample revenue for the Government.

[Laughter on the Republican side.]

The gentleman this afternoon seems to be trying to hold the same flattering unction to his soul, but the law failed in every single particular that he was so confident about. [Applause on the Republican side.] Who then thought that in 10 months to a day the President of the United States would be here before Congress asking for legislation to provide additional revenue? When he asked for it, he said why. Let me read his language:

I need not tell to what this falling off is due. It is due in chief part not to the reduction recently made in the customs duty—

He seems to have been afraid that some one would have a suspicion that it was the failure in customs duty under the Underwood bill—

but to the great decrease in importations, and that is due to the extraordinary extent of the industrial area affected by the present war in Europe.

Had there been any decrease in importations under the Underwood bill? Is there a man on either side of the House who does not know that the importations have jumped from month to month, until they have increased under that bill more than \$100,000,000? [Applause on the Republican side.] The decrease in revenue is due not to the decrease in importations, but because the rates were not so adjusted as to produce adequate revenue for running the Government.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] skims very lightly over the operations of this bill during the first fiscal year. When Secretary McAdoo's letter was presented to the House, I said I believed that a proper analysis of that letter would show that the Underwood bill in its first year would have left a deficit in the Treasury, except that it was carried out on crutches

furnished by the Payne law, which it superseded. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I am prepared anywhere and at all times to prove absolutely that that was the fact. The Underwood bill did not go into effect until the 4th day of October. They had three months and three days to enjoy the superior provisions of the Payne Act, which they were superseding. They had the increased revenue which that act had provided for the three months and three days. Not only that, but they provided that their wool schedule should not go into effect until the 1st day of December, which gave them five months on the Payne wool schedules. Not only that, but they provided that the sugar schedule should not go into effect until the 1st day of March, which gave them eight months to enjoy the Payne sugar schedule. What was the result? Why, I think it appears in the figures presented in the gentleman's report, or, if not, it appears in the figures presented by the minority, and it appears in the figures presented by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD]. There is a statement of the customs revenue from month to month, commencing away back in 1912 and running down to and including the month of August last, which I produce here, as follows:

Customs revenue and total ordinary receipts for the fiscal years 1912, 1913, 1914, and 1915 to date.

CUSTOMS REVENUE.

Month.	1912	1913	1914	1915
July.....	\$23,404,502.50	\$28,136,502.27	\$27,806,654.54	\$22,988,465.54
August.....	25,952,466.21	30,205,331.96	30,934,952.44	19,431,362.20
September.....	24,746,309.77	27,475,127.85	26,794,494.25	
October.....	25,757,036.40	30,216,824.02	30,138,049.37	
November.....	24,704,345.15	25,066,353.25	21,173,627.85	
December.....	24,587,327.35	24,248,161.30	21,510,139.99	
January.....	24,654,652.30	29,334,124.09	23,528,079.83	
February.....	26,337,528.23	27,605,115.83	17,609,603.70	
March.....	30,408,561.39	27,457,489.20	25,927,212.90	
April.....	26,184,467.79	23,093,966.76	22,232,766.57	
May.....	26,578,973.14	20,434,749.21	20,800,573.25	
June.....	28,005,501.99	24,417,650.12	23,672,372.94	
Total.....	311,321,672.22	318,891,395.83	292,128,527.63	42,419,827.56

Now, the Underwood bill took effect partially on the 4th day of October. Of course everyone knows that goods were held back prior to the 1st of October wherever the duty had been reduced. Of course the Payne Act did not have its full opportunity during those three months to produce revenue. Goods were rushed in in October, and that was the only successful month of the Underwood bill. It produced \$30,138,000 in revenue for the month of October. In the next month, November, the revenues came down to \$21,173,000. And take that month and the seven months following, the total revenue from customs receipts under the Underwood bill when it had almost full operation was \$174,500,000, or at the rate of \$21,820,000 a month—at the rate of \$261,840,000 per annum.

On the 2d day of July the gentleman from Alabama presented to the House a statement from the Secretary of the operations of the Treasury for the fiscal year 1914, as follows:

JULY 1, 1914.

Subject to revision upon analysis of complete returns, the following is a statement of the ordinary receipts and the ordinary disbursements for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1914:

Customs.....	\$292,128,527.63
Internal revenue, ordinary.....	308,613,843.73
Corporation, excise, and income.....	\$43,079,819.44
Individual income.....	28,306,336.69
	71,386,156.13
Miscellaneous, including \$3,800,000 surplus of postal revenues for the fiscal year 1913.....	62,215,172.71
Total ordinary receipts.....	734,343,700.20
Total ordinary disbursements.....	700,559,248.13
Surplus of ordinary receipts.....	33,784,452.07

In concluding this statement the Secretary said:

The department is exceedingly gratified with the results for the first fiscal year of the new tariff and income-tax law.

If we deduct from the amount of customs receipts under both the Payne and Underwood laws, as appear in the above table, the amount we have been receiving under the Underwood law, taking eight months up to July 31 as a basis, or \$261,840,000, we find that the Payne law actually earned \$30,308,000. If in addition to that we deduct the \$3,800,000 post-office surplus for 1913, which Mr. McAdoo says was credited to the revenues in 1914, we would have a total of revenues received from Republican laws of \$34,108,000, which more than wipes out the book-keeping surplus of \$33,784,452.07 appearing in the Secretary's statement made July 1, 1914, or an actual deficit.

To this should be added the sum of: \$6,000,000, general deficiency law, which, owing to Democratic delay, was not passed until July, and not charged in the Secretary's statement of July 1. A clear deficit in the working of the Underwood law, if left to itself, of more than \$6,000,000.

If there had been no war, it is not possible that the receipts from customs—\$262,000,000 under Underwood rates—and internal-revenue receipts—\$308,500,000—would have been greater. There is no indications from the returns of July that the customs receipts would have been greater, and the ordinary internal-revenue receipts were about the same for the two months, July and August, in the fiscal year 1914 and the fiscal year 1915. They have jumped up during the month of September, and most especially since the President gave out that there must be an auxiliary tax law, and attention from the first was focused on the raise in the spirit tax. Holders are taking out their spirits and paying the taxes to anticipate the raise in rates. Experience up to date is in anticipation of a heavier income upon this large item.

The income and corporation taxes were \$71,000,000 in the fiscal year 1914. For the year before the corporation tax amounted to \$35,000,000, leaving a gain of \$36,000,000 this year on account of income taxes. The corporation taxes covered the full 12 months which was credited in 1914, and the added income tax of \$36,000,000 covered only 10 months of the 12. Adding one-fifth of this \$36,000,000 would increase the taxes \$7,200,000, or a total of \$78,000,000 and upward. This tax for the year 1914 was levied on the incomes for the calendar year ending December 31, 1913, during which time business was infinitely better than it has been for the calendar year for which the entire income tax is to be levied next June. It is very doubtful whether this item would increase.

Miscellaneous receipts will be increased this year by \$12,500,000, received for the sale of two battleships, less the sum of \$3,800,000 postal surplus in 1913 and credited to 1914. In other words, there would be a balance of increase of \$8,700,000. Adding these items, there would be for the fiscal year 1915—

Customs receipts.....	\$261,840,000
Ordinary internal revenue.....	308,613,000
Corporation and income taxes (making no deduction for bad business).....	78,000,000
Miscellaneous receipts (with \$8,700,000).....	71,000,000
Total.....	719,453,000

That the expenditures would be largely in excess of this sum there can be no reasonable doubt. They were over \$700,000,000 last year, and the appropriations so far reported have increased over 5 per cent for the total appropriations, including the post office and permanent annual appropriations. Adding 5 per cent for this year, we would have \$735,000,000 of expenditures. With rigid economy the income, had there been no war, might have equaled the expenditures, but without rigid economy it would not have done so. Clearly Mr. UNDERWOOD was mistaken when he recorded his prophecy that his law would produce sufficient revenue to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government.

The President looked at the revenues, \$19,431,000 in August, and then he looked back to \$30,934,000 in August, 1914, under the operation of the previous law, and he said, "Our revenues have fallen off \$11,000,000 and more." They had simply fallen off on the contrast between the two laws. What was the falling off compared with the average customs duties received under the Underwood law during the last eight months? I said the monthly average was \$21,800,000. The August receipts were \$19,431,000, and the falling off was \$2,400,000 from the average under the Underwood law, and that is all it was. Now, that would not have produced half as much of a scare if those figures had been properly used by the President and had been properly used by the majority of the committee when they brought in this report, because they indicate a falling off of only \$23,800,000 if it should continue for the whole year. That would not show any necessity for \$105,000,000 taxation, and yet that is the fact that existed. If the President is right, all that can be attributed to the war is \$2,400,000 a month of falling revenue. There is no occasion for any great scare about that. There is no occasion to say that you shall not issue certificates and tide that matter over until you see how long the war is going to last and what will be the effect of the war on the revenues of the Government.

If more money were needed at any time the President is amply authorized to raise it under the following provisions of the war revenue act of 1898, which provides for the issue of certificates of indebtedness, as follows:

SEC. 32. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow from time to time, at a rate of interest not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, such sum or sums as, in his judgment, may be necessary to meet public expenditures, and to issue therefor certificates of indebtedness in such form as he may prescribe and in denominations of \$50 or some

multiple of that sum; and each certificate so issued shall be payable, with the interest accrued thereon, at such time, not exceeding one year from the date of its issue, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe: *Provided*, That the amount of such certificates shall at no time exceed \$100,000,000.

This section was designed to provide for any deficiency which might occur, and intended as permanent law. It was very carefully guarded, and not repealed when other parts of the war-revenue measure were repealed. It was inserted in the law of 1898 in order that whenever necessary the President might issue such certificates on short time to meet just such an emergency as the President thinks exists to-day.

It will not do for the party in power to say that bonds of the United States at 3 per cent could not be floated now, while they are ready to force through Congress an administration bill which proposes to issue 3 per cent bonds for \$30,000,000 for the Government to buy ships, and enter upon the perilous business of navigating them. If the Government can borrow money for this purpose, which is contrary to every Democratic principle ever enunciated by that party since its foundation, they certainly can get into the market for the aid of the Treasury and borrow money sufficient to meet the demands upon it. The next jump they take is a still longer one. On page 2 of the report they sum up the revenues received from the countries affected by the war, \$125,800,000, not under the Underwood bill, but under the former law when the revenues were greater, according to what appears here in this report, as follows:

Estimated falling off in customs revenue during the next 12 months because of the European war.

Country.	Dutiable imports, value 1914.	Estimated falling off in revenues during next 12 months.
Austria-Hungary.....	\$15,232,645	\$5,267,000
Belgium.....	21,324,417	5,398,000
France.....	95,445,062	35,569,000
Germany.....	119,383,975	38,683,000
Russia in Europe.....	2,420,602	242,000
Servia and Montenegro.....	9,627	2,000
United Kingdom.....	132,173,220	40,653,000
Total.....	385,989,551	125,811,000

NOTE.—This estimate is made on the assumption that all imports from the European countries at war will cease during the next 12 months. The import values shown represent the dutiable articles imported during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914. The estimated falling off in revenue is computed by applying the rates of the act of 1913 to the imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914.

Forty million six hundred thousand dollars of those revenues are from goods imported from Great Britain. Thirty-five million five hundred thousand dollars are from goods imported from France. Is there any difficulty about communication or the transport of goods from Great Britain or France to the United States, or has there been for a single minute since this war commenced? [Applause on the Republican side.] You can take those \$76,000,000 worth of revenue entirely out of the question, because the condition is normal as between the two countries and our own in regard to the transportation of goods, and you then have left \$49,000,000 of revenue from the other countries engaged in the war, and of this \$38,683,000 are from goods imported from Germany. Well, there has been a little difficulty about getting into Germany. It almost drove my good friend and colleague from New York [Mr. Merz] wild, because he could not establish communications with his factory over there to bring in dyestuffs, but a week or 10 days ago he announced most triumphantly to the House that they had found a new avenue, and that the goods would come, and that the people in our factories would get their dyestuffs fresh from Germany, as they had been getting them in the past, and this morning the German ambassador in Washington gives out an interview in which he says:

It has been said that the export of goods from Germany is not possible and that consequently neutral countries should get goods heretofore imported from Germany from other countries. The passage of goods over German railroads has been resumed, and there is no reason why goods should not be exported, with the exception, of course, of those the export of which has been forbidden because of the war.

He refers there undoubtedly to goods that are contraband of war. He continues:

The export trade of Germany will be resumed in a large measure in the future.

In Germany the women and the children are cultivating their fields and the sugar crop will be cared for this year and planted next. The textile factories will run, and they will be able to furnish the quota of these goods which come into our markets and furnish the revenues, even though the war is prolonged,

now that the transportation problem is settled. In all these cases the women and children work in the factories on the looms. France showed a wonderful recuperative energy after the severe war of 1870, and her industrial activity was almost immediately reestablished. Such is the prospect as it now appears.

Why not wait until December before we pass this hasty and ill-considered legislation? Why try to force it through under a rule allowing no chance for amendment, and then with only four hours of debate, as originally proposed, afterwards so generously extended to seven hours. Seven hours' debate on a bill carrying \$105,000,000 of burdensome taxes to be placed on the people! Taxes to be wrung from the "peepul's" money, which we hear about so often from Democratic "statesmen" with tears in their voices, their sympathy going no further than empty demagogic phrases. When they come to appropriate there is no tremor in the voice with which they vigorously shout "Aye!"

And yet we have all this scare and panic worked up about importation of goods from foreign countries. Why, you do not know anything about it. It is all guesswork. Why not wait a little while and tide the matter over? Oh, but you have only \$122,000,000 in the Treasury, and \$75,000,000 of that is loaned out to national banks on call. Is it going to inconvenience or bankrupt any of those banks if the Government should call in two or three million dollars a month for two or three months? [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.] Let them pay their indebtedness to the Government and let us carry on the operations of the country. Yet that is urged as a reason for expedition in the passage of this bill.

Gentlemen on the other side tried to expedite it, and they went up to the source of all their legislation. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.] Finally we have this bill. First they presented a bill that taxed railroad fares throughout the United States, and some of their friends whispered in their ears that that would not do, because they would drive every commuter away from the party if they had to pay that tax on a ticket every day. They then took the matter before the committee, and the committee had political sense enough to vote it down. They left that out. Then they were going to tax freight, and the papers reported that they had agreed on that, and they took that over to have it censured, and the blue pencil was drawn across that and that went out, and we did not hear any more about taxing freight. Then they agonized for a while on the subject, and the papers said that instead of taxing railroad fares and railroad freight, they were going to put more taxes on incomes. They took that over to the other end of the Avenue to have that reviewed, and the word came back that there was no use taxing incomes, because they would not get any return from that until July, 1915. Then they struggled again for two or three days, according to the newspapers, and the things that dropped out from their struggles. They were going to put on this excise tax and next year take it off, and then substitute an income tax. That would get around quickly enough for next year. That would tide them over, and that seemed to have settled all their difficulties. Why do not you follow that out? Did you find that the real reason for opposition to the increase in the income tax was because it was thought that it might become unpopular with those who paid it and excite them somewhat when an election was coming on in November next? They finally went back to the excise tax. They say they have copied our excise tax. They have, to some extent.

My friend from Alabama [Mr. Underwood] did not always like that excise tax. He was here in 1898, and he printed a speech in the RECORD on the 28th of April, 1898, and he then voiced his objections to that bill. Mr. Speaker, it was stated in that debate by a prominent Democrat that they had taken the Republican Party by the scruff of the neck and had forced them into the Spanish War, and there was some truth in that, because I had the honor to stand out against the Spanish War to the last day, and I only wish to-day that we had prevailed in it, and if we had you would not have had the Philippine question on your plate now. President McKinley believed that he could accomplish everything without war that has been accomplished with war, so far as freeing the Cubans from the domination of Spain is concerned. And from what I have heard from a source near to the Spanish Government I have not any doubt it was correct, and it was because of your agitation in Congress; it was because of the sinking of the *Maine*; it was because that board found that the sinking was from an outside explosion without any proof on the subject that satisfies. People were excited and we were rushed into a Spanish War and you got enough people on this side of the House, some of whom were almost as cowardly as all of you seem to be now. [Applause]

on the Republican side.] So we had the Spanish War and you did your part toward it, and when we came to pay the bill where were you? It is not a question of patriotism now. [We are in no war with the nations of Europe. We have not any cloud of war on the horizon except our good ally, Gen. Villa. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] And that has not got to a dangerous point yet, but it looks like it. What did Mr. UNDERWOOD say in 1898:

What is the bill they have brought before the House? Does it allow the wealth of the Nation to pay its share of the taxes to maintain our armies and navies in the field?

The gentleman says he copied our bill, and to-day he says that he taxes the wealthy people and the taxes on the poor people are comparatively light. What new influence has come over the spirit of his dream since 1898? The bill that taxed only the poor people then is now, in 1914, to be a bill that taxes the rich people. [Laughter on the Republican side.] He says:

No; it again lays additional taxes on consumption—

As though you could tax anything in the United States that did not enter into consumption—

It doubles the taxes on beer.

Well, he has added 50 per cent. I do not know whether that is a concession to the rich or the poor. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

In the end the consumer must pay for it by getting a less amount for his money.

Now, his colleague from Alabama would say that would be a benefit to the consumer to get less of it. I am not expressing any opinion on the subject as I go along. I am simply trying to reconcile these brethren—that is, trying to reconcile what the gentleman said in 1898 with what he says to-day.

It increases the tax on tobacco, and already, in advance of the passage of the law, the merchants have put up the price on their goods.

Why, did not you tax tobacco? Who has raised the question about the raising of so much tobacco in the South and the committee; and is there any reason why you did not tax it?

SEVERAL MEMBERS (on the Republican side). No!

Mr. PAYNE. Let some brother answer in his own time in regard to that. Perhaps all the "poor people" live in the South—I do not know—and you are trying to lessen the burden to the people down there.

They have invented innumerable stamp taxes that must annoy and harass the people.

[Laughter on the Republican side.]

What we did in presence of a war you do now by this bill that is brought in here without any reason for its being here and which you propose to enact when it is not necessary to enact it.

This tax will fall almost entirely on the hard working and industrious artisan, merchants, mechanics, farmers, and professional men of the country, but not on idle wealth that is protected but never made to pay for the benefit received.

[Applause on the Republican side.]

This is the bill the gentleman has brought into this House and seeks to pass after working for two or three weeks in trying to find some way to collect a tax that would not hurt anybody. I did not know but what he had come to the question of raising revenue by restoring some of the rates of duty. Why, in our bill in 1898 we put a tax of 10 cents a pound on imported tea. I was surprised to find out that the consumer of the article did not pay a cent of it, but half of that 10 cents was paid by the men who raised the tea either in Japan or on the islands, and the other half was paid by the importers and middle men. You said it would come from the ultimate consumer, but it did not turn out so. The people who consumed paid no more.

The duty on tea was repealed afterwards. But the consumer has paid the same for his tea ever since. Why, we had a tariff 40 years ago on coffee and the Government got a big revenue out of it. Some men came along and talked about a free breakfast table and it was taken off of coffee, and Brazil turned around and placed an export tax on it to the exact amount of the duty, and they have collected that tax for years and we have not had a cent of it.

You reduced certain duties. The gentleman from Alabama was honest when he said, in the presence of the President, that they were going to reduce the cost of living, because he thought it might be some benefit to them to take off these duties. Is there anything that any of you can mention who follow me in this debate that has reduced the cost of living a single dollar? Sugar was a little bit cheaper at wholesale—35 cents a hundred—but what did that have to do with the poor man who took home his 5 pounds, paid his 5 cents a pound for it, just as he has been doing for 29 years? Oh, you simply took it out of the Treasury of the United States, and in this case you paid it over to the sugar refiners, about whom you have howled on

the stump these many years. [Applause on the Republican side.] They got the benefit, and they are the only people who got the benefit. And if you read over the Hardwick hearings you will see they are the only people who wanted sugar free of duty. They wanted it, and they told why. They said the sugar-beet people were coming and getting away their custom and pounding down the price of sugar so long as the beet crop was in the market. They wanted to remove that competition. They were the people that were asking. That is the evidence that you had. I do not suppose you ever read a line of it when you went to put sugar on the free list.

The time was when the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] wanted the duty left on sugar. He was in accord with every civilized country in the world; all have a revenue duty on sugar. [Applause on the Republican side.] He wanted to keep about what the duty pays to-day, and he brought a bill in here, and all of you who were in the Sixty-second Congress voted for it and passed it through the House.

I do not know when he had the change of heart, but it was reported that he stood for a sugar duty while the bill was before the House, and one day he took a stroll up Pennsylvania Avenue, and free sugar was put on afterwards. I do not know how it came about. [Applause on the Republican side.] I was not there. You make sugar free on May 1, 1916. If you had kept a duty on sugar after the 1st of May, 1916, you would not be thinking about continuing this infamous tax bill for perhaps many years, as the gentleman from Alabama says. He says he does not know how long. You have got to keep it after 1916 to meet the loss of duty on sugar. You took off the stamp duties—it was a mere bagatelle—on December 31, 1915, by the terms of your bill, but you kept the rest of it on. You have got to have something to replace the \$40,000,000 of revenue on sugar that you have surrendered to the foreign growers and the importers and the refiners of the United States—for the benefit of the people who get no benefit from it. We had as cheap sugar as they had in England for years. We had cheaper sugar than any other country in the world for 20 years with the duty on sugar. And coming along and not knowing what you were doing, you tore down the structure. You do not benefit anybody, the ultimate consumer does not save a cent out of it, and we lose the revenue. Why, if that bill had been what Mr. UNDERWOOD had supposed it was, was going to have the effect he supposed it would, there would not be any danger of securities coming in from abroad and absorbing our gold to-day. Look at it! We pay \$200,000,000 in gold for freights to foreign nations. Our tourists spend \$100,000,000 abroad every year; and that makes \$300,000,000. The presidents of the railroads who appeared before the President of the United States the other day testified that there were from three to five billion dollars of railroad securities held abroad. Suppose there was \$4,000,000,000 drawing 5 per cent—\$200,000,000—in interest on railroad securities? And doubtless it is not more than half of the securities of the United States that are held abroad. And this sum must be met. You say we can not sell where we do not buy. We sold under the Payne Act, and we increased our sales month by month during the life of that act. [Applause on the Republican side.] What have you done? You have reduced the sales. Ever since the Underwood Act went into full effect you have reduced them. Here are the figures:

Total imports and exports for the 13 months ending July 31, 1913, and 1914.

	Amount.	Balance.
Imports:		
1913.....	\$1,932,202,804	
1914.....	2,054,347,313	\$102,084,509
Exports:		
1913.....	2,626,874,927	
1914.....	2,518,708,780	\$108,166,147
Total decrease of foreign commerce.....		210,250,656

¹ Increase.

² Decrease.

You have reduced them \$108,126,147—I will put the correct figures in the Record—since that act went into effect. And then you have increased the purchases abroad \$102,084,509. In 13 months. There is a difference on the wrong side of the ledger in the two sums of \$210,000,000, all owing to the disturbance in trade caused by the Underwood law. [Applause on the Republican side.] That was one of the things that was the matter with us. We have \$210,000,000 more to meet. It is not alone interest on the securities and the freight and the tourist expenses, but we have \$210,000,000 more to meet, and that is what draws the money from the banks. If the banks are suffering

now, that is what is drawing the money out of the country. If you had only framed a tariff bill on the proper lines, that would have kept the balance of trade in our favor instead of against the United States, you would not have this difficulty now. Do not lay it to the war. The war is not to blame for it, but you are to blame for it. You put yourselves in that position by your unwise tariff law. It has done nobody any good. It has not made the cost of living any cheaper.

However, it has done somebody good, namely, the sugar refiners. And there are the importers, and there are the manufacturers abroad. It has helped them, but it has hurt the United States. It has brought woe and misery to millions of our people. I do not know whether it was at the meeting on the 3d of October or not, but the President, in alluding to this bill, talked about the "new freedom," and the plain people of the United States now believe that the "new freedom" was the old free trade that had caused so much disturbance under Democratic administration in years past. This is not a new thing. You had under the Wilson bill the same condition of things. You had under the Walker bill the same condition of things. Gold was discovered in California and helped you out when the Walker bill was passed.

The Mexican War of 1846 to 1848 came on, and that helped out a bit; and then the Crimean War abroad came along, and that helped out; and some of you wise old fellows who read history and who go back to those times are just hoping that this present war abroad is going to help you out this time. But you got too far wrong with your tariff bill. [Applause on the Republican side.] The people of the United States have had time to see how it worked. There was no sign of a war in Europe up to the 1st of August. There was no difficulty in that direction. Nobody thought there would be a war on that side of the ocean except a few wise old owls abroad. It dropped like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It did not affect trade up to that time. It was your bill, your tariff bill, the workings of your laws, that left this country in that condition.

Now, what are you going to do with this money when you get it? [Laughter on the Republican side.] It is \$105,000,000, you say. Well, that will make quite a sizable sum for the boys to go after in the appropriation bills. [Laughter.] I wonder how many of you know about the size of the appropriations for the year 1915, as compared with the year 1914. Thus far there has been no river and harbor bill this year for the fiscal year 1915. There was one for the fiscal year 1914. Taking out the river and harbor bill for 1914, you will find that the appropriations are \$31,000,000 and upward more for the fiscal year 1915 than they were for the fiscal year 1914; and yet you pledged the people, if you got in, to rigid economy, did you not? [Laughter on the Republican side.] Why, you can not meet them on that. No special plea will do it. Even the plea of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. POW], who says that one hundred and forty-odd Republicans forced 280 Democrats to be extravagant in their appropriations, will be without avail. [Laughter on the Republican side.] You are bent on deceiving the people, but you can not do it this time. [Renewed laughter on the Republican side.]

What are you going to do with it, I repeat? I wonder if my friend from Florida [Mr. SPARKMAN] is still after that \$53,000,000 to aid commerce and irrigate southern rivers with dry bottoms? [Laughter and applause.] You should put your money where it would do the most good.

What are you going to do with the Shackelford good-roads bill? Do you remember how you put that through? I was about the only man who stood up and protested against it—I with a few others. I made a short speech on the subject, and the newspapers took it up and they published it all over the United States. I heard only one criticism of that speech, and that was from a New York paper, to the effect that I had not gone far enough, that I ought to have said that from \$40 to \$60 a mile, where there was a mile of road for free rural delivery, would hire 20 heelers on the day before election in each congressional district. [Laughter.] Well, it would have done that, and if it would have done any other good in the United States I fail to see it. It was a ridiculous thing. I remember that a week or 10 days after that, out in the lobby here, I was talking to one of the gentlemen who voted for the bill, and he said, with tears in his voice, "That bill has become the most unpopular bill in the United States." Why? Because they had turned the light on; that is all. It went over to the Senate, and I think they were talking about a \$500,000,000 issue of bonds—for good roads, you know. [Renewed laughter.]

Perhaps you think that will keep you in Congress, but it will not do it. I have been here about 30 years, and I know something about that. You thought that getting offices would keep you in, and yet every one of you who has gotten an office from

the President is in hot water about it—every living soul of you. I have been through that myself. It will not help to keep you in. Do not follow the President around in order to get an office, but look after your constituents, and look after the good of the country, and stand up here with me for economy in the administration of the Government. [Applause on the Republican side.] There is nothing in this situation that can not be met by economy.

Well, one good, brave Republican in the other body stood up there for about a week (assisted by a very small band); an honest man, one of the best men in the country. He exposed the infamy of that river and harbor bill. They did not get much help. It was said they were filibustering, and yet the wonderful thing about it was that that man talked sense that could not be answered, in bringing his arguments against that bill. They tried to tire out that man and his comrades, and dug up old rules that the Senate had regarded as obsolete for years; but, finally, he triumphed, and the committee came in and offered the very amendment that they had voted down when he offered it the day before; and if the House has sense enough to agree to it, that river and harbor bill will be cut down to \$20,000,000. [Applause.] You will save \$20,000,000 on your expenses.

Not only were your appropriations \$31,000,000 more, but your appropriations for pensions were reduced from \$180,000,000 to \$169,000,000, a reduction of eleven and a half millions from last year. And then on the Panama Canal, from an actual expenditure of \$35,000,000 the appropriation was cut down to a little over \$20,000,000, a difference of \$14,000,000, or \$25,500,000 saved on those two items that you did not have to appropriate for; and, yet, notwithstanding that, your appropriations this year amount to over \$31,000,000 more than they did last year; and with the \$25,000,000, that amounts to \$56,000,000 increase this year over last year on the other objects appropriated for.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] says there has been a great deal of talk, but not much accomplished, and he blames it to the separating of the appropriation bills and sending them to different committees. I was here when that change was made.

Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, opposed that change in reference to the appropriation bills. There have never been any arguments brought against it that Randall did not advance in that Congress. He was a great, big man, as well as a Democrat. There were giants in those days on both sides of the House; but still they separated the appropriation bills and sent them to different committees, and that has been done ever since, and probably the House will never get rid of that change. But did you ever think that these departments are not bound to spend all of the money that Congress appropriated? They can economize. There is no law compelling them to spend all the money that Congress appropriates. They do not spend all of it. Some of them are economical and cut off some of it. Why, instead of coming up here and making that speech and asking Congress for this tax of \$105,000,000, it was perfectly competent for the President of the United States to call his Cabinet around his table in the Cabinet room and say, "Now, look here, gentlemen, we must economize. There is a war in Europe, and we must economize." Of course, he could not confess the whole truth about it and say, "It is principally on account of the Underwood bill that the revenues have fallen off." He could not say that to his Cabinet, because UNDERWOOD had told them when the bill was signed that the revenues would not fall off. But he could have told them that they must economize. Why not economize? Everybody in the United States is economizing [applause]—the farmers, the laborers, the merchants, the business men are all practicing economy. Why? Well, my friend from Alabama [Mr. UNDERWOOD] came pretty nearly letting the cat out of the bag. He said that the revenues are running a little smaller under the income tax because trade conditions are not good. Well, they are not. It is the first time I have heard an open confession of that kind since I heard about the psychological effect on trade. [Applause on the Republican side.] All confessions are in the same line. Of course, trade conditions are not as good.

The gentleman from Alabama thinks he is going to have an increase on his income tax this coming year. Let us look at that a little. We are going to have \$14,000,000 more, he says, because the tax will run for 12 months instead of 10. Can it be possible he does not know what is in his bill? Why, the bill provides that the taxes on incomes of corporations shall be collected for the full year in the first year of the law, as they were collected under the provisions of the Payne bill, which first put this tax on corporations. And so every dollar of that corporation tax was collected—for what year? For the calendar year ending December 31, 1913, not the fiscal year. In-

comes are now being earned to pay an income tax for the next year. Does anybody imagine that incomes are going to be as large as they were last year? Look at the railroads of the country, look at what they presented to the President of the United States about the condition of the railroads, and in such a fashion that the President finally heard them. Look at the railroads that have cut their dividends, look at the railroads complaining all the time and having to cut off trains because of the lack of patronage. They have been paying on incomes, but they can not pay on incomes that they do not get in the calendar year 1914.

Have you thought of it? Have you thought of the fact that the revenue depends on prosperity? [Applause on the Republican side.] The greater the prosperity the greater the revenue under the same rates, all things being equal. There is no revenue that depends so much on prosperity as an income tax. Thirty-six million dollars' increase in incomes and corporation tax over the corporation tax of the year before! If you had good luck you would get one-fifth of \$36,000,000 in addition—some \$7,000,000. Does anybody imagine that \$7,000,000 will equal the loss of revenue to every man that has an income in the United States?

I was talking with a woolen manufacturer a few days ago who had a \$700,000 plant. He said he had been operating it to the best of his ability for the last six months in order to keep his force together. He had taken an inventory, and on that \$700,000 plant in six months under the blessed Underwood tariff he had a profit of less than \$1,000. He said he was going to run it another six months, but what the result would be he did not know. He said that when he came to make the return, they might think that he was wrong, because he would not have any income to pay a tax on unless the next six months were better than the last six months. That is the way all over the country. I went to a town the other day where there is a manufacturers' association, and they have been keeping an account of the number of men employed and the percentage unemployed in the past six or eight months. They have a secretary and an office and they get accurate information. Less than 50 per cent were employed under the Underwood tariff law that were employed continually under the tariff bill that preceded it. The President honestly thinks that he is not to blame for any of this, and that you are not to blame for it, but that it is all on account of the war in Europe; and still you can not show any connection between the war in Europe and the falling off of the revenue.

Why, the loss in importations in the month of August was only a falling off of 6 per cent, and the loss of revenue was a loss of over 37 per cent. That is where this trouble is, and you can not meet it by blaming the war in Europe.

Take a sensible course. We provided for this very thing. We knew that you would get into power some time, and away back in 1898 we provided for \$100,000,000 in certificates to run not over a year at 3 per cent to tide over just such an emergency as you think you have. Now, if you wish to strengthen the Treasury, take advantage of that law, issue \$2,400,000 worth right off for August, and you will get that quicker than any revenue; and if that is not enough, then issue that much again for the next month. People will take that. Keep your Treasury full and an available balance as full as it is now. It is larger than the average has been during all the time since Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated. There is no special cause for alarm.

The banks reported 10 days ago that they were in good condition, in such good condition that the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, is going to put the screws on them for keeping so large a surplus. There is no cause for alarm. You are inexcusable in trying to enact this law. Why put this heavy burden on the people? Think about it before you do it. Think of the men that have to pay it; think of the people in their little homes struggling along, working almost down to the bread line, and then you come along with an excise tax. Now, if we were engaged in a war, that would be another thing. Everybody would like to do his share. No one would mind being taxed; but if you put this burden on the people now, a burden most grievous to be borne, it will make you round-shouldered on the 3d day of November next and the people will hold you to account for it.

Oh, and look at this Alexander shipping bill, so-called, coming from the White House, according to reports. I do not know anything about the White House, but that is the report, that it comes from the White House, and it is to do what? To issue \$30,000,000 of bonds and sell them to buy ships with. You can not issue bonds to pay your debts or to keep your Treasury sound, but you will issue bonds to go into the sailing business. [Laughter on the Republican side.] What a proposition. There

is to be a board appointed, and I do not know whether it is to be called a sailing board or not, but certain positions are to be created, places made for a few deserving Democratic politicians. Fifty-one per cent of the stock is to be owned by the Government and 49 per cent by outside individuals, if anybody is fool enough, outside of the Government, to invest a dollar in the 49 per cent of stock; and if they do not, then there is a provision in the bill that the Government can own the whole stock. What man is going to invest his money, who has any money and who is sane, to be managed by a board appointed and kept in office by a lot of politicians? [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.] That is the bill. And why? Is there any cargo offered for Europe that does not find a quick taker in empty bottoms that are ready to go to Europe? Oh, you have passed one or two shipping bills. You have provided American registry for foreign-built ships. Who has taken advantage of it? Oh, the Steel Trust, and the United Fruit Co., and the Standard Oil Co. They have taken advantage of it, one or more of them.

The Steel Trust has sent one vessel down on the west coast of South America. I do not know whether they have taken advantage of your insurance bill or whether you have insured anybody under your insurance bill. Talk about paternalism. Talk about subsidy. Was there ever anything invented like these bills? Oh, when you get on the stump you can say to all the good and great—close your eyes, as in the form of prayer—you have been Democrats all of your life, and you cherish Democratic principles, and you are all opposed to subsidy in every form. [Laughter and applause on Republican side.] You have voted for these measures. Is it Democracy? They are opposed to every Democratic principle that you have ever professed—I will not say that you have ever had, for I begin to doubt whether you have ever had any. [Laughter and applause on Republican side.] Then see how you go back on your platform. Take the question of economy. Take the question of free tolls; and now you are halloing for a second term, after your solemn profession against it in your platform. Do you think the people are going to be fooled by any such nonsense as that—a platform simply to get in on and not to stand on when you get there? Yet that is what you are doing.

Mr. Speaker, I wish I had some time to talk about this thing. [Laughter.] There are a few things that I would like to say, but I will put them into the Record after a while. I will get them all in there, and I invite you to read them, and it will furnish you food for reflection; and if you change your politics between now and election time you can find lots of good, solid, plain truths for the people to use on the platform. [Applause on Republican side.]

Oh, do not pass this bill. Do not pile this burden on the people. Live up to your professions; practice economy. There is no need of passing any such bill as this. You can get along without it. If after a few months you find that you have need for money, you can issue some of these certificates; but there is an abundance of money in the banks belonging to the Treasury of the United States. Do what I say, and see how the war is going to terminate, and when it does terminate then see whether you can not get revenue enough without all of these taxes that you are putting onto the backs of the people, and if you can not, then amend the Underwood bill, and make such a bill as will produce enough revenue to run the Government.

Mr. Speaker, I said I would show that that bill had not in 1914 produced enough revenue to run the Government without the aid of the Payne tariff bill, and I will put that in the Record, and the prospects are that it will not produce sufficient revenue and would not have produced enough. You will not produce sufficient revenue to run the Government, war or no war, if you continue to indulge in the wild extravaganzas that you have set here day after day and voted into the appropriation bills against the protest of such men as Mr. FITZGERALD, of New York, and Mr. Sisson, of Mississippi.

On April 10, 1914, Mr. FITZGERALD, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said:

Mr. Chairman, it may seem somewhat strange, but I hope it is not out of place, to remind Members on this side of the House that the Democratic platform pledged us in favor of economy and to the abolishment of useless offices; but it did not declare, Mr. Chairman, that the party favored economy at the expense of the Republicans and the abolition of useless offices in territory represented in this House by Republicans while favoring a different doctrine wherever a Democratic Representative would be affected. In a few months I shall be called upon in the discharge of my official duties to review the record that this Democratic House shall have made in its authorization of the expenditure of the public money. Whenever I think of the horrible mess I shall be called upon to present to the country on behalf of the Democratic Party I am tempted to quit my place. I am looking now at Democrats who seem to take amusement in soliciting votes on the floor of this House to overturn the Committee on Appropriations in its efforts to carry out the pledges of the Democratic platform. They seem to take it to be a huge joke not to obey their platform and to make ridiculous the efforts of the members of our party who do try

to live up to the promises they made to the people. * * * My colleagues upon this floor seem either to be so indifferent to a very perilous situation for our party or else, which I do not wish to believe, have so far forsaken Democratic practices and Democratic principles as not to deserve to continue in control of this Government.

We charged the Republicans for 12 years of my service in the House under Republican administration with being grossly extravagant and reckless in the expenditure of the public money. I believed that charge to be true. I believed that my party, when placed in power, would demonstrate that the charges we had made in good faith were true. We are entitled to the help and to the support of the Members on this side of the House in honest efforts to carry out the pledges of the Democratic Party, and in our attempts to show that what we charged in order to get into power was true. We have not had that support. Our Democratic colleagues have not given that support to us thus far during this session of Congress. They have voted against recommendations they should not have voted against. They have unnecessarily piled up the public expenditures until the Democratic Party is becoming the laughingstock of the country.

I appeal to them now before it is too late; I appeal to them now before we have gone beyond recall to stop the conduct of which they have been guilty. Do not continue to vote for these improper and improvident appropriations. Those who propose to continue to do so should at least have the courage openly to assert upon the floor of this House that they believe the professions of the Democratic Party have not been made in good faith, that they can not be carried out, and that we are not entitled to power because of those professions.

In April, discussing appropriations, Congressman Sisson, Democrat, of Mississippi, said:

This is the most outrageously and criminally extravagant Congress that ever sat on the American Continent. I want to apologize to the Republicans for having called them extravagant when they were in control of the House. They were modest in comparison with the appropriations that we are now making.

[Prolonged applause on the Republican side.]

FRANCHISES IN PORTO RICO (H. DOC. NO. 1168).

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was ordered printed and referred, with accompanying documents, not ordered printed, to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

The message is as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

As required by section 32 of the act of Congress approved April 12, 1900, entitled "An act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," I transmit herewith certified copies of franchises granted by the Executive Council of Porto Rico, which are described in the accompanying letter from the Secretary of War transmitting them to me. Such of these as relate to railroad, street railway, telegraph, and telephone franchises, privileges, or concessions have been approved by me, as required by the joint resolution of May 1, 1900 (31 Stat., 715).

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, September 24, 1914.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED.

Mr. ASHBROOK, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that they had examined and found truly enrolled bill of the following title, when the Speaker signed the same:

S. 1930. An act granting to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co. a right of way through the Fort Wingate Military Reservation, N. Mex., and for other purposes.

SENATE BILL REFERRED.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, Senate bill of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to its appropriate committee, as indicated below:

S. 2616. An act to promote the efficiency of the Public Health Service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

By unanimous consent, Mr. HARRIS was granted leave of absence, indefinitely, on account of illness.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record by inserting an article from the Wilkes-Barre Record on the plan to relieve the South from the present situation in regard to the cotton crop.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CASEY] asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record by publishing an editorial on the way to relieve the South in reference to the present trouble about cotton. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, what is the request?

The SPEAKER. The request has been granted, but the gentleman from Pennsylvania asked unanimous consent to extend his remarks by publishing an editorial on the way to relieve the South in reference to the present trouble about cotton.

Mr. GREENE of Massachusetts. All right; I have no objection.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned to meet to-morrow, Friday, September 25, 1914, at 12 o'clock noon.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 2 of Rule XIII, bills and resolutions were severally reported from committees, delivered to the Clerk, and referred to the several calendars therein named, as follows:

Mr. GLASS, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 15038) proposing an amendment to the Federal reserve act relative to acceptances, and for other purposes, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1165), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

He also, from the same committee, to which was referred the bill (S. 6505) to amend sections 11 and 16 of an act to provide for the establishment of Federal reserve banks, etc., approved December 23, 1913, and commonly known as the Federal reserve act, reported the same with amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1166), which said bill and report were referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KAHN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 346) ceding to the State of California temporary jurisdiction over certain lands in the Presidio of San Francisco and Fort Mason (Cal.) Military Reservation, reported the same without amendment, accompanied by a report (No. 1167), which said joint resolution and report were referred to the House Calendar.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXII, committees were discharged from the consideration of the following bills and joint resolutions, which were referred as follows:

A bill (H. R. 18352) granting a pension to Isaac Kestbaum; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (H. R. 18786) granting an increase of pension to Charles Hoff; Committee on Invalid Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 334) to amend an act entitled "An act granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war," approved July 21, 1914; Committee on Pensions discharged, and referred to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. PORTER: A bill (H. R. 18931) incorporating the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MAHAN: A bill (H. R. 18942) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Essex, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. BROUSSARD: A bill (H. R. 18943) to define the true intent and meaning of section 48 of the act of August 28, 1894, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOWARD (by request): A bill (H. R. 18944) to provide for the issuance of currency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FOSTER: Resolution (H. Res. 630) to terminate consideration of bills under House resolution 536 and to make privileged H. R. 12741, relating to radium ores; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADAIR: A bill (H. R. 18945) granting a pension to Charles Cannon; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ALLEN: A bill (H. R. 18946) granting a pension to Albert L. Daniels; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18947) granting an increase of pension to Anna Katharine Frentzel; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18948) granting an increase of pension to Maria Caroline L. Meyer; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. ASHBROOK: A bill (H. R. 18949) granting an increase of pension to Jacob A. Thuma; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. COX: A bill (H. R. 18950) granting a pension to Frederick Brinegar; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18951) granting an increase of pension to George W. East; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GOEKE: A bill (H. R. 18952) granting a pension to Charles W. Begien; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HARRIS: A bill (H. R. 18953) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Smith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LEE of Pennsylvania: A bill (H. R. 18954) granting an increase of pension to Stephen Reese; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LIEB: A bill (H. R. 18955) granting a pension to Jennie Meredith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18956) granting a pension to Hester Stephens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18957) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Corn; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18958) granting an increase of pension to Overton L. Dismett; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18959) granting an increase of pension to Alexander D. Green; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18960) granting an increase of pension to Henry Hart; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18961) granting an increase of pension to Isaac M. Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18962) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Johnson; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18963) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McClellan; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18964) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Nichols; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18965) granting an increase of pension to Mathew Pennington; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18966) granting an increase of pension to Washington Rider; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18967) granting an increase of pension to Henry Schnarr; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18968) granting an increase of pension to Jackson Smith; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18969) granting an increase of pension to William L. Stephens; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18970) granting an increase of pension to William Walling; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MOSS of West Virginia: A bill (H. R. 18971) granting a pension to Eva Saunders; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SELLS: A bill (H. R. 18972) granting an increase of pension to William C. Crosswhite; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18973) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McLain; to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 18974) granting an increase of pension to Madison T. Trent; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BARTON: Petition of 1,000 women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Nebraska, protesting against the postponement of the Hobson bill; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BORCHERS: Petition of 35 citizens of Charleston, 70 citizens of Tuscola, and 25 citizens of Urbana, all in the State of Illinois, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. BRITTEN: Petition of Chicago Real Estate Board and Illinois Bankers' Association against special revenue tax bill; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CALDER: Petition of H. F. Stimson, Brooklyn, N. Y., relative to Clayton bill; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of Fash & Co. and A. Habernich & Co., New York, against tax on wines; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of H. Planten & Son, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and the Maltine Co., of New York, against tax on proprietary medicines; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CARY: Petition of S. J. Falk, of Milwaukee, Wis., protesting against national prohibition; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DICKINSON: Petition of 101 citizens of the sixth district of Missouri, in support of House bill 5308, to compel concerns selling goods direct to consumers entirely by mail to contribute their portion of funds in the development of the local community, the county, and State; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GORDON: Petition of 140 picture shows in Cleveland, Ohio, protesting against \$100 excessive war tax; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HELGESEN: Petition of George J. Fogel and 34 others of Chaffee, N. Dak., protesting against tax on gasoline; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petitions of 75 citizens of Lavocon, 60 citizens of Grand Forks, and 40 citizens of Bathgate, all in the State of North Dakota, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. KAHN: Petition of masters, mates, and pilots of the Pacific and Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association No. 35, protesting against the suspension of the navigation laws; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Also, petition of Orange Owners' Protective Association, of San Francisco, Cal., favoring the Stevens bill, H. R. 13305; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, memorial of State executive board of the Socialist Party of California, favoring the Hamill retirement bill; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

Also, petition of the San Francisco Stock and Bond Exchange, protesting against war tax on stock brokers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of United Master Butchers of America, relative to Congress subsidizing land for farming and raising live stock; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island: Petition of Women's Christian Temperance Union of Rhode Island, protesting against war tax on beer and wine; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of solid temperance forces of State of Rhode Island, protesting against war tax on alcoholic liquors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. LEE of Pennsylvania: Memorial of Philadelphia Board of Trade, protesting against H. R. 18666, providing for Government ownership, etc., of vessels in the foreign trade; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. LIEB: Memorials of Henry Reis, president Old State National Bank; M. S. Sonntag, president Indiana Bankers' Association; the Evansville Clearing House Association, Walter J. Lewis, manager; American Trust & Savings Bank, Marcus S. Sonntag, president; and the West Side Bank, all of Evansville, Ind., against taxing banks \$2 per thousand upon capital, surplus, and profits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of W. L. Jaus, of the Central Labor Union, of Evansville, Ind., in favor of proposed amendment to section 85 of House bill 15902; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. LONERGAN: Petition of citizens of the first district of Connecticut, protesting against House bill 18891; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RAKER: Petition of Los Angeles Stock Exchange, protesting against tax on stockbrokers; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of Philadelphia Board of Trade, protesting against House bill 18666, providing for Government ownership, etc., of vessels in foreign trade; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. J. M. C. SMITH: Papers to accompany House bill 16662, for relief of John R. Lucas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH: Petition of citizens of Leonard, Mich., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WEBB: Petition of citizens of North Stonington, Conn., favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WILLIS: Petition of George A. Caskey and other members of the Ohio State Association of Dyers and Cleaners, against the levying of certain additional tax on gasoline; to the Committee on Ways and Means.